1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

721 never looked for horses; its object was to scalp; it turned back as soon as a single scalp was taken. The Scalp Dance was held upon the return.

Ordinarily, a man contemplating leading out a party drummed and sang war songs in his tipi. Those who wished to go came and joined him in the singing there. A war dance was held the night before departure. During the afternoon the entire party rode at a lope through the camp. They rode in a single file behind the organizer. The last horse carried two men, one of whom had performed the honorable deed of carrying a dismounted or wounded comrade out of battle-danger. No onlooker could forget this ever-present obligation, nor the public recognition to a man who had fulfilled it. The ceremony is known as the Pony Dance.

In the War Dance only braves leaving on the raid could participate; each was helped by a young girl partner. Others were onlookers.

A rendezvous outside the village had been set by the leader. During the night the warriors stole off to the gathering place. The raid was under way.

POWERS OF THE WAR LEADER

●701 624 The leader of an organized war party was absolute dictator of all of the activities of his followers as long as they remained in his party. With so loose and voluntary a collection of personnel, disobedience might be looked for. The invariable conviction of the Comanche is that a man never failed to do what the leader asked. It was always said that a brave leader never asked of his men what he himself would not readily do. Each knew this. Each knew, too, that to disobey might bring disaster on the party. Each did what he was told. Not a single instance of the use of force or other punishment as sanctions in the hands of the war leader could be uncovered. If a man did not trust in the ability and wisdom of the war leader he did not join the party. Once in, he was in, so long as he stayed.

So long as he stayed. Some Comanche raiding parties were gone for an entire year or more. Disaffection could and did set in in such a period of time. The solution of such difficulties was simple. The party split. The disgruntled fighter and those who sided with him withdrew to go their own way.[6] This, be it noted, is also the procedure followed when a man and his friends did not like the way in which things were being run in the band in times of peace. A man followed only the leader in whom he had confidence; he obeyed that leader to the utmost; when he lost confidence, he withdrew from that leader's sphere of influence.

The powers of the chief were (a) to determine the objective of the raid,

[6] Cf., Case 14, pp. 68–69, below.

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(b) to delegate the scouts, (c) to determine the camping places and periods of rest, (d) to appoint the cook and water carriers, (e) to lay the general strategy of attack, (f) to divide the booty, (g) to make a truce with the enemies, and (h) to order turning back of the expedition.

In battle, though the leader set an example of courage and daring, each man was free to fight according to the dictates of his medicine and his personal inclinations. After an engagement or a stealthy garnering of horses, the leader and war bonnet wearers covered the escape with rear guard actions.

When raiders had put two to three days of safety between themselves and possible pursuers, they halted. Rest was needed. There were spoils to divide. The leader's eyes had been open to industry and willingness. He had noted or been told of the actions of his followers while in engagement. To the man who excelled, he allowed first choice of the horses. Each member of the party chose in turn according to his service as determined by the chief. The leader took his pick *of what remained*. Then the succession of choices was repeated in the same order as before. If there was an acute shortage of horses, the cook was always taken care of. A nice adjustment, this: the cook had been burdened with the meat supply. If there were too few horses, only the bravest got any return. The leader, no matter what his deeds, got nothing at all if there were not enough horses to go around; in this, as in civil prosecutions, reputation and prestige-obligation counted for more than their visible badge: horses. (It is interesting to speculate on whether this would have persisted, had a *large* herd of horses had a productive economic use as well as a prestige value.)

A reputation for fairness in dividing the spoils enhanced the prestige of a war leader and gained him followers. Some men say that Quanah Parker, the last great Comanche chief, did not do this; he frequently made favorites of his relatives and took the best horses himself. Their fathers refused to go on raids with him.

If a man on a raid was killed before the horses were divided, he was counted out. This is in curious contrast to the strong revenge feeling and the treatment of the cook. There can be no question of any principle akin to "out of sight, out of mind." And there would normally be heirs at home. However, if the horses had already been divided and he had claimed some as his own, then, were he killed, those horses went to his heirs.[7]

[7] The generalized principles included in the preceding paragraphs were not only given as statements by informants but were confirmed by the text of the war histories collected from the Comanches.

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624 554 brave man who was not necessarily a war chief. It, too, was decorated with a row of eagle feathers. These had the breast feathers tied about the bottom of the quill and reached down to the waist of the wearer. At the top of the buffalo scalp was a bunch of magpie feathers set back on the center of the head.

554 431 In the Buffalo Eaters band such a bonnet was assumed by any brave who felt worthy of wearing one. There was definitely no ceremonial bestowal. Becomes A Middle-Aged Man, who possessed such a bonnet, says that sometimes it was the gift of friends to a brave man. One friend might suggest it to another with the result that they would gather up the feathers. A woman made them into a scalp bonnet, after which it was presented by them to the mutual friend as a token of esteem.

554 The acceptance of a buffalo scalp bonnet was a serious matter. People watched a man who took one to see if he was really worthy in his next battles. Failure meant ridicule and disgrace. Becomes A Middle-Aged Man could have risen to the rank of ţékniwap. He did not, because he felt that he was not brave enough. And yet this man is one (the sole survivor) of the band of six who entered the fortified corral at Fort Sill sixty-nine years ago to drive out one hundred and twenty-one horses under the very noses of the guards without being detected! When the final capitulation to the whites was made, he hung his buffalo scalp bonnet in a tree, leaving it there never again to be worn. In his words, "A man who has surrendered his freedon is not fit to wear such an honorable badge." In the old days, it was the practice upon the death of a chief to hang his bonnet in a tree where it could not be seen, so to allow it to waste away.

626 Women among the Comanches were also privileged to bestow war bonnets upon "deserving" fighters. But it was a hat which rested uncomfortably upon the head of the receiver. Braggarts, whose words spoke louder than their deeds, were neatly handled by the plotting, sniggering females. They made him a war bonnet in secret (if we only knew what kind!). When the moment was ripe, they made a public presentation with such words as these. "Here, you're such a brave fellow. You ought to be a ţékniwap. Surely, anyone as brave as you ought to be without fear in the face of the enemy. Yes, you deserve a war bonnet. Now it is yours to wear."

So what was Talking Bigger Than His Deeds to do? He had to live up to the obligations of that war hat, or lose it and become an "elder sister." There was a sanction!

554 ● 701 A most special type of war bonnet was the Crow Feather Tassel (haimudya).[11] The Crow Feather Tassel was made of five feathers clipped short

[11] The details of the haimudya complex are from information obtained by Dr. Mirsky.

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except for one large one which was trimmed to scalloped edges. The wearers prepared their own emblem under the tutelage of a man who possessed one. They put a tassel on their left shoulder and one in their hair, taking the Crow Tassel pledge to dedicate themselves to unceasing war. There were never many such—two to four fighters in each generation. Men of two distinct backgrounds took this road of life. There were those who had the family tradition, and those who had no surviving family. For the latter the career of the Tassel-wearer was the road to death or tribal prestige. They had little to lose and much to gain. For the former it was the means of keeping high a family reputation.[12] It was the peak of all men's war activities.

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The few Crow Tassel Wearers formed an intimate association. They ran in their own lonely pack. By their way of life they could not spend more than one night at any time in the camp with their people. "They were gone and gone and gone—so long that Red Young Man, who had been a young man when he first went, was now middle-aged." War was their business. If they were approaching camp ay any time, should they meet a war party on the out-path, they turned their steps—again to the enemy.

An excellent history of a group of Crow Tassel Wearers among the Comanches was given to Dr. Mirsky. Part of it follows:

Case 2. History of Crow Tassel Wearers
Informant: Talker

"While they (the Crow Tassel Wearers) had been gone all these years Red Young Man's father had died. His mother and grandmother (kaku) were living. None of the party was married. As they came to the camp look-out, this man told Red Young Man that his father had died not a year since. Because of this the men cancelled their plans to parade; they entered the camp quietly—without fanfare or pomp.

"That night his friends, the Tassel Wearers, came to see him in his tipi. They mourned and wailed with him for his father. When they had ceased crying, his mother spoke, 'Now that I can see you, it makes my heart heavy that you have taken up this role. I have not seen you for many years. You were young; now you are a grown man. And I hope you will agree to what I propose.' Therewith, she begged him no longer to wear his emblem of the Crow Feather Tassel. Would he honor her wishes? 'You have put in time enough to have had your fill of it,' the mother urged.

Our informants spoke vaguely of certain men who went continuously to war, who were a "stage beyond the war bonnet." We found no one who could give us facts, however.

[12] It reminds one of those American lineages who glory in a record of participation in every war of our country's history.

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701 "Red Young Man turned to his friends and said, 'You have heard the request of my mother. To it I now agree. After you eat—all of you—bring your fathers here.'

"They did as he asked; they brought their fathers to his tipi. Red Young Man said to the fathers, 'You are all familiar with what we have been doing—you know our rules. Look upon us all! My father did not live to see me. I missed him. I have called you here because I have something to say to you. I entered this order when I was young, when I was without ties. These friends joined me under the same circumstances.'

"A father said, 'You speak truly.'

"In this group of young men was Red Young Man's nephew (aza), whose father was Red Young Man's brother-in-law (tɛtɛ). The brother-in-law said, 'My wife's brother, you have been in this from your youth; now you are of middle-age. Even so is your nephew, my son. I speak as your mother spoke. I wish both of you would discontinue this. This is my opinion and desire.'

"The father of one of the others agreed with the mother and the brother-in-law. The father of the youngest put in his word for it, too—'because we are so happy to have you back after so many years.'

"Then Red Young Man said to the fathers, 'Today, at this very instant you finish with us, we will take off our tassels. We will disband forever. Before we come to that I wish that you well-seasoned men of wise counsel would give us your advice and blessing. That is all. Let us fill our pipe.'

[788] "They filled the pipe to bless the dissolving of the band. There was silence as the pipe was lit. The brother-in-law took the pipe; he presented it to Sun, the Father and to Earth, the Mother. 'Accept this, Father,' he said, 'today in a few moments these young men shall be broken asunder.' He passed the pipe to the next father who did the same and said the same. Then to the third father. He finished the prayer with these words, 'They have devoted their whole youth to this cause. Now that they are middle-aged they are going to lead a quiet, stay-at-home life.' They did not pass the pipe to the mother—but she spoke and voiced her happiness at the outcome of the decision.

"Red Young Man spoke again, 'We have come to dissolve,' He speared out a black kerchief. 'We are going to take the tassels from our shoulder and our head.' He prayed. He prayed, saying how in his youth he had followed the dictates of his heart—a Crow Feather Tassel Wearer. He had lived alone without regard to family ties. The Great Power Which Pervades All Things be his witness! By taking off the emblem he was now ready to devote himself to family obligations.

"He then called his nephew. 'We started out with only one thought, you and I: that we would be killed together. I, who put this emblem on you, now take it off.'

"Then he called the older friend to do the same with him. At last he called the younger one. 'Behold our younger brother (támi), who tirelessly performed all the duties we placed on him! You be witness that I take from him his emblem.' All the tassels were laid on the kerchief.

"When night came the obligations were done. Then Red Young Man tied up the kerchief. He said to the father, 'Tomorrow we do what we have not yet done

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

with you: we will stay with you all the day and for the rest of our lives. By morning everyone will know what has transpired.' He took the bundle with the Crow Tassels and put it by his bed.

"He started out next morning from the tipi carrying the bundle. You never bury anything of which part is a feather. You return it to a tree and tie it there. Thus was ended Red Young Man's war career.

"Red Young Man never again went with a war party. He became a camp-moving peace chief; he confined himself to his home duties. When he took off his tassel and put on his war bonnet, he became the highest war chief. When visiting tribes came to call, everyone would hold their breath when Red Young Man counted coup. He was the pride of the band.

"As time went on, he finally married. He married his own niece, his sister's daughter. Though he was so very great and so important, he did not escape being slightingly referred to as 'niece-wife.' The talk was that that wife had been loose before he married her, so he married her to make her behave. She was young and pretty. It was her first marriage and they had children."

In this practice the social ideal was exaggerated to social negation. The Crow Tassel Men pursued the war goal with such singleness of mind and purpose that they were no longer of the larger society. Thus during the period of their calling they were of little significance in civil affairs. Yet when years of success without death, or the death of one of their membership, caused them to dissolve the band of special comradeship and warlike duty, they became leading men in the community by virtue of their prestige.

The Crazy Dogs and the Big Horse Owners were also limited groups among the Comanches. The Crazy Dogs arrived at their state by an intrinsic waywardness in personality. The Big Horse Owners chose their road as a way of life for much the same reasons as motivated the Crow Tassel Wearers.[12] "I might make many errors and fall down many times," said Black Horse on taking up the insignia of the Big Horse. "I shall take my father's road, and maybe I'll come out a somebody."

The Crazy Dogs were contraries. They did everything backwards. Tell them to bring water, and they would fetch fire. She Invites Her Relatives told of a widow who lamented her lot and her lack of a buffalo robe. A Crazy Dog heard her. He told the old woman to hold her peace; he would get her a robe. When he returned to camp he brought with him the skin of a flayed enemy. This he hung from a pole before the widow's door. Such men were a great nuisance. They urinated like dogs. Going about the camp they could

[12] It is difficult now to distinguish what traits belonged to the Contrary Men and what to the Big Horse Owners. Among them were a gourd rattle as insignia and a slit sash worn over the shoulder. In attack the sash was pegged to the ground, so that the wearer could not retreat unless released by another Comanche.

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shoot an arrow into anybody's pot of meat, taking whatever piece stuck to the shaft.

Parents warned boys who were constantly recalcitrant that they would become such. Most Crazy Dogs started out as wayward youths.

Such men carried on as Dogs until after the performance of some conspicuous act of bravery. After many years of Crazy Dog activity, their rattles were taken from them by a respectable middle-aged man (tɬénapa). "They had attained prestige and could leave off their antics." By their war records ex-Crazy Dogs were always men of importance in the tribe.

It is clear from these facts that the war bonnet and other special insignia served a definite social function in Comanche society; they marked the status of the war chief as distinct from that of the lesser war leader, and the special devotees of the war cult from the common warrior.

OBLIGATIONS OF THE WAR BONNET WEARER

The Comanche owner of a war bonnet was under obligation never to retreat. This was the primary duty assumed with the status. The bonnet was a symbol of tribal integrity and honor to the Comanche, to be protected at all costs. The mere fact that the wearer could not retreat made him a rallying point for all other fighters when he was hard-pressed, for it was equally disgraceful for the bonnet to fall into the hands of the enemy should the wearer be wounded or killed. The war bonnet wearer, dismounted and hard-pressed, could indeed be rescued by a fellow tribesman who dared to risk dashing in to carry the brave off on his horse. This was the sole escape with honor. In one fierce three-day battle with the Utes, a Comanche war chief was so wounded in the leg that he was having difficulty. Another tɬékniwʌp mounted behind him and held him in his place on the horse while he fought off the enemy. The Utes forced the Comanches back and ever back over a battle-field sixty-five miles long. When, during the action, the wounded war chief died, he was tied to the saddle by his protector to avoid his being captured with his bonnet. During the entire fight his body and its protector were screened by a group of fighting braves.

On the other hand, it was the absolute duty of a tɬékniwʌp to help a dismounted comrade. Should he fail to do so, any other war chief who observed his disloyalty could publicly upbraid him with the act and take the war bonnet from him in punishment. The accuser was then free to offer it to some other warrior whom he thought deserved it.[14] But this man was also free to refuse if he feared the obligations attached to it. This was said

[14] Compare also the case cited on page 55, where a claimant to a piece of land (on the reservation) had the judgment go against him because he had one time failed to rescue a comrade.

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ASSOCIATIONS AND THEIR GOVERNMENTAL ROLE

MILITARY SOCIETIES

Professor Lowie in seeking for germinal sources of the state other than the kinship factor has given a new importance to the study of associations. The warriors of many Plains tribes were organized into a series of fighting *Verbindungen* variously identified as clubs, associations, societies and bands. In Professor Lowie's book, *The Origin of the State*, it is demonstrated for several peoples how associations of various types may take on governmental functions and powers, thus giving form to the state idea. He has made it impossible for the modern student of the primitive state or pre-state to overlook associations, whether as governmental agencies or pressure groups.

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Two paragraphs sum up Lowie's exposition.

> With amazing uniformity as to detail the police functions just described have been recorded for a dozen and more tribes and for a period of two hundred years. Personnel of the constabulary varies with the tribe; the duties may be linked with a particular society (Mandan, Hidatsa), or be assumed by various military societies in turn (Crow), or fall to the lot of distinguished men without reference to associational affiliations (Kansas). But everywhere the basic idea is that during the hunt a group is vested with the power forcibly to prevent premature attacks on the herd and to punish offenders by corporal punishment, by confiscation of the game illegally secured, by destruction of their property generally, and in extreme cases by killing them.[1]
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> In other words, for the brief period of the hunt the unchallenged supremacy of the police unified the entire population and created a state "towering immeasurably above single individuals," but which disappeared again as rapidly as it had come into being.[2]

In a recent article (1936) appearing in the AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST I raised the question of the probability of more permanent state-like activities accruing from the power of associations as discussed by Professor Lowie.[3] There I showed from case histories taken from the Cheyennes that for that tribe, at least, the military societies had become an ever-ready arm of the state functioning on many occasions aside from the exigencies of the buffalo hunt. Where the Cheyenne go beyond the practices described by

[1] R. H. Lowie, *The Origin of the State* (New York, 1927), p. 103.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 104.

[3] E. A. Hoebel, *Associations and the State in the Plains* (American Anthropologist, vol. 38, 1936), pp. 433–438. Additional Cheyenne data acquired on a subsequent field trip provide an even more effective demonstration of this point. They will appear in the author's forthcoming discussion of Cheyenne Law-ways. Llewellyn and Hoebel, *Law-ways and the Cheyenne Indians* (in press).

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Lowie, the Comanches fall far short of them. The Comanches were unlike other tribes of the plains in that they possessed only the slightest trace of organized military fraternities.

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Twenty-five years ago, Professor Lowie recorded the presence of warrior societies among the Comanches. From one informant he learned that the fighters were organized into companies in time of war, their groups being known as the Crow, Fox, Drum, Big Horse, and Little Horse. How they functioned is not noted. Lowie also recorded that certain dances were linked to specific bands, stating that the Crow dance was exclusive to the Yep Eaters, the Horse Dance to Those Who Turn Back, and Swift Fox Dance to Those Who Turn Back and the Swift Stingers.[4] But whether the men who performed these dances were formed into "regiments" or military associations as were the Arapaho dancers,[5] Lowie's material fails to make clear. Because of the contiguous distribution of such dances linked with definite orders in the Plains tribes to the north of the Comanche, it is possible that they were so organized.

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A recently published Spanish document from the eighteenth century presents a diagrammatic sketch of a Comanche contingent allied to a Spanish expeditionary force. The tally strokes representing the individual Comanche warriors are grouped into five separate units. Before each group of tallies stands the pictographic representation of a man, beside whom is an inverted spear with a crooked butt. This tally sheet is an official record of the Comanches who engaged in the Spanish expedition against the Apaches in the year 1788. A. B. Thomas, who reported and translated this document in the AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST,[6] suggests the possibility that the segmentation of the Comanches in the tally is in accordance with the dance societies which possibly existed in the tribe at the time. The third enclosure (*noticia*), which is embodied in the Spanish report, is a list of the Comanche chiefs and the number of lodges joined to each chief. The Spanish list of the five groups and the chiefs who headed them identifies the chiefs by bands. These bands are given as *Cuchanec*, or *Cuchantica:* Buffalo-eaters (cf. no. 8, p. 13, *Ku'tsueka*); *Yupe, Yupinis* and *Gente de Palo:* Timber People (cf. no. 4, p. 13, *Ho-is*); *Yamparica* (cf. no. 3, p. 13, *Ya'pain*). These are three of the great Comanche bands—the very three which, according to modern Comanche tradition, led in the southward migration. The band membership of the

[4] R. H. Lowie, *Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone* (American Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Papers, vol. II, 1916), pp. 809–811.

[5] A. L. Kroeber, *The Arapaho* (American Museum of Natural History, Bulletin No. 18, Part 2, 1904), pp. 151–229.

[6] A. B. Thomas, *An Eighteenth Century Comanche Document* pp. 289–298.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

chiefs listed in each particular group is fairly homogeneous within the group but not wholly so. The size of each group varies greatly in the number of chiefs identified with the group. The number of lodges "under the command of" each chief varies from six to one hundred. A note by the Spanish chronicler explains that "there may be computed about three men of arms and from seven to eight women and children" in each lodge.[7] In the first group, twelve chiefs with three hundred and sixty-six lodges are listed. In the second group, but two chiefs with fifty-six lodges are listed.

In all the systems of military societies of the Plains Indians for which we have truly reliable data, the number of officers for any society never exceeded seven. Usually the officers were limited to four to a society. Furthermore, the warrior societies did not camp as units (excepting the Dog Soldiers of the Cheyenne). The presence of women and children in the lodges of the camp indicated by the notes accompanying the tally sheet, and the unevenness of the number of chiefs in the group, along with the variable number of lodges under the jurisdiction of the numerous chiefs, indicate that the groupings are band groupings and that the sub-chiefs with their lodges are simply the heads of the extended family units within the band (as described on page 14 above). The document in question does not supply adequate evidence of the existence of military associations among the Comanches.

Only one of the Comanche informants consulted in this study made reference to warrior societies. These White Wolf called "regiments." He was unable to give any specific information concerning their organization or functioning, however.

The tenuousness of the historical data and the paucity of material recorded by Lowie, when combined with the ignorance of present-day Comanches on the subject of military societies, all indicate that the societies were not a developed and integrated part of Comanche culture. Therefore, they could not have played an important role in social control and government.

The small groups of Crow Tassel Wearers and Big Horse men, by virtue of their being continuously at war, could not play a role in the give and take of everyday life in the community. Hence they, too, were of little direct significance in social control.

MEDICINE SOCIETIES

Evidence is found of small and limited medicine societies among the Comanches. Possessors of beaver medicine and eagle medicine of a particu-

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 295.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6
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number of active middle-aged men were chosen by the hunt leader to act as supervisors for the march and hunt. The Shoshone called these officers tə́ɔkoni, "those who surround." The personnel of the police changed from hunt to hunt, and in consequence, they did not form a military or dance society. Their functions were clearly defined, but their enforcing powers were limited. While the camps were on the march, they patrolled the cavalcade on all sides in an endeavor to prevent straggling and exposure to enemy attack. When the hunt was about to begin they attempted to hold back the over-anxious ones among the hunters. They gave orders to people and attempted to back up their commands by quirting the face of the rider's horse, "to shame the rider," but they did not strike people, nor could they confiscate or destroy the property of those who ignored their demands. They could encourage, exhort and exert pressure, but they could not apply force. There is no evidence of their having entered into the regulation of tribal matters other than the control of the march and the hunt. Shoshone policing was Plains policing in its most attenuated form, showing none of the governmental pregnancy which is found in the Cheyenne police organization, for example.[10]

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It is interesting that the Comanche, who had incipient military associations, had no buffalo police, while the Shoshone, who had no associations, organized police units for the hunt. That the development of policing powers for the duration of the hunt was not a necessity for the tribes on the southern plains is demonstrated by the Comanches, who succeeded quite well without them. But to the northern Shoshones, who faced the double hazard of attack by superior enemies and a possible inadequacy in numbers of available buffalo, the adaptation of the military police to their needs was of patent value. The patterns of limited authority, which were characteristic of the culture, laid their stamp upon the police organization, diluting it to a skeletal imitation of the institution as it existed on the Plains.

C N 181

Northern Shoshone culture offers little in a positive way for the study of law and government. Its contribution to our knowledge rests mostly on the quasi-anarchistic picture it gives of organization of society on a very rude level of economic and social existence. In relation to the Comanche it throws into relief the background of Comanche amorphism in matters of political organization, at the same time indirectly indicating the dynamic inventiveness of the Comanches in the production of their mechanism of juridical settlements.

[10] E. A. Hoebel, *Associations and the State in the Plains*, pp. 433–438.

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
NO6 Comanche NO6

727 solemnly obligated himself, in case I did, to make a skele-
675 ton of me in the shortest possible space of time, according to the Indian statutes in such case made and provided.

727 Though closely observed, and confined within certain limits, like one out on bail in the old times of imprisonment for debt, I now enjoyed comparative freedom; and as day after day and week after week passed wearily away, had opportunities of observing their habits, customs, and peculiarities, and to become thoroughly conversant with life in a Comanche camp.

727 As before stated, the sole business of the male portion
701 of the tribe was war and hunting. While in camp the Indian is idle, listless, sleeping the greater part of the day and all night. He is slovenly in his dress, except when he meets in council or goes on the war path, when he decorates himself with the scalps he has taken, which at other
727 times hang in his tent. His prowess as a warrior is estimated
701 in proportion to the number he possesses.
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The most renowned brave in the camp of the Big Wolf—he who could boast the possession of the greatest number of these trophies—was *Hawakakeno*, the Wide River. He was, indeed, a brawny and powerful savage, terrible in battle and quarrelsome in the village. He was feared as well as admired; his word was law among his weaker brethren, and none of all his tribe could stand before him in single contest.

224 To supply the necessaries of life, more or less are con-
492 strained daily to go out upon the hunt. In this, their only labor, they range within a circuit rarely extending more than four or five miles from the town. Their weapons, on these excursions, are the bow and arrow and the lance, both of which they use with great dexterity and skill, especially on horseback. Indeed, in the matter of horsemanship, I

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

687 than rebuke and admonition. The people in general, however, showed great respect and obedience to their chiefs and headmen.

623 555 While warfare was still going on, the exactions of the chiefs, headmen, and counselors who stood at the top of the scale of society were kept in check by fear of reprisals should some man of lower rank later rise to supremacy. Thus the warriors prevented the tipping of the scales toward undue governmental authority. The end of warfare froze the social system, depriving able young men of all chance of social advancement, since this primary means of achieving status was blocked. As a result, the old men became arrogant in a way that they dared not in earlier times.[8]

624 701 War chiefs were men who had war records and who had won leadership by personal bravery and exhibitions of courage and skill. Each band seemed to have recognized one individual as the leading war chief. Apparently his elevation to the position was given official recognition by the council of elders. Yet, again, in this matter the council apparently followed public opinion, which in this case would be the wishes of the warriors. The war chief was apt to be a younger man than the civil chief and in times of war might possibly overshadow the leading civil chief.

In the event of the death or decline and withdrawal of a war chief, the warriors in council selected one of their number and installed him as their leader. The discussion and the expressions of opinion usually showed clearly who was the most popular man for the place. There appears to have been no formal balloting; the discussion continued until sentiment had crystalized around one man. In addition to the number-one war chief, each band had a number of war leaders of lesser rank.

701 The prosecution of warfare was very much a matter of individual discretion. Any Comanche was theoretically eligible to lead a war party, and there was no power to restrain him. A warrior who wished to organize a war party made known his intention. If his military reputation had been established in combat, if his "medicine" was powerful, and if he was known to be liberal in the division of the spoils, he seldom had difficulty in securing a large following. Continued successes would lead to his elevation to the chieftainship.

[8] Ralph Linton, "The Distinctive Aspects of Acculturation," *loc. cit.*, 506.

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Government and Law

A heroic and possibly legendary story of the making of a war chief in the Water Horse band, full of the flavor of the Comanches, was told by That's It. It reveals his influence and reflects Comanche marital and legal attitudes. 701 539

« « « There were two young brothers about sixteen and twenty-five years old. Neither was a medicine man.

In the old days lots of trouble began over women. The oldest brother was out wandering about the camp one day when he met a young woman coming down a cow trail. She proposed to him that they go on the warpath. They had seen each other at the dances; she wanted him and had plotted the meeting.

"I am a young man," he rebuffed her. "I take orders only from my people. You are beautiful and married. If we do this thing, there will be trouble."

Later she accosted him in the same spot.

"For a young man, you're an awful coward," was her taunt.

This made him kind of sore. He answered her, "Well—you come at sundown with your stuff. I shall be here with two horses."

Her husband was in the habit of having some old men in for a smoke in the evening. He told her to clean up the tipi. When the old men were all there, he told her to bring the fire stick and then to lie down and listen.

While she was lying there, the sister of her lover came over with a rare blanket, which she slipped to her under the edge of the tipi.

After a while she told her own sister she was going out to get some air. Putting the blanket over her head, she walked right by the men smoking outside.

One of them remarked, "My, there goes a boy with a beautiful blanket."

She met her lover at the rendezvous and they made their get-away.

In the morning her husband missed her. He went up to the boy's tipi and asked his father where the lad was. He got the answer that they did not know; he had not been in all night.

"Well," said this man, "he has run off with my wife." The father told him he was sorry, and the husband went away.

Later on, when nothing was seen of the couple, the husband came back again.

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●701 539 "What is it you want," he was asked.

"I want *nanɛwɔkə* (damages)," he declared.

The father agreed to this, telling him that he could have his pick of all their herd. The younger brother gave his assent, too, saying, "That is all right, if only you leave my favorite."

The husband laughed, "That's just the very horse I want."

"Well, in that case, it's just as good as yours. But I won't give it up until my brother comes back."

His mother pleaded the same thing, so finally the husband agreed to let the whole matter of the settlement rest until the elder brother returned.

Before long a war party was being organized.

The youngest brother wanted to go to war. He was a strong young man. It was time, he thought, to show his worth to the people.

He went to his father, telling him of the feeling he had, saying that he wanted to go with the fighters on the raid. His father was glad that his son had such thoughts. "It is good," he said. "And furthermore, my son, I will give you a powerful pony with which to meet our enemies. You shall have a good mule to ride upon the trail, for you must respect your pony. He must be ridden only in battle. Ride upon the mule and lead the pony by its halter until the proper time. When you get to the territory of our enemies it will be time. Leave your mule and get on that pony. Ride him hard like you were meeting the enemy. Do this a short way and stop. Rest! Charge again. Rest once more. Do this four times, my son. Do this, and you will have a pony which will never tire. It will be a famous war pony among the people."

When the boy did these things the people wondered, but it was as his father had told him.

A couple of nights later they set up a camp, and the leader put a scout upon the hill to look for enemies. When he got there, he saw two tipis on the other side. He turned back and came zigzagging down the hill. When the war party saw him making the signal, the fighters ran for their horses, grabbing their spears and stringing their bows. The scout came in to report to the chief. He had seen two men returning to the tipis; it seemed as though they had seen him as he turned to leave the hilltop.

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The mounted warriors were off in a pell-mell rush about the hill. They came out there in the open. Yes! There they went. Three families of the enemy were scudding away in flight—like rabbits. The women were in front. The three men were riding behind them to cover their flight. Down on them the Comanches rode. One of the enemies had a fast horse. He circled back and forth trying to keep off the Comanches. Around he came. The boy on his war pony drove at him, his spear in hand. The enemy fell from his horse dead. The other two jumped from their horses; they began shooting with guns. The young Comanche turned his pony on them; in an instant he speared them both. It was over like that. He turned then and looked about. There were the dead enemies. Way back, the Comanches were coming strung out in a line. The fast ones were ahead, but his pony had left them far behind. The first man up hit all the victims and cried, *"ahe!"* The others came and took the scalps.

It had been a successful raid, so they all turned back to the main camp. When they got there, the people held a Scalp Dance. On the next morning some fine young maidens dressed up like warriors. They went over to the young brave's tipi before he was awake. They did the Shakedown Dance there and sang the songs. The boy's father came out. He knew what they were there for. He was proud of his son, so he gave these girls what they wanted. He gave them two horses.

The next time the boy went with a war party he was its leader. They were going west. When they got to the enemy territory, he got on his pony and worked it as he had before. After a while they came face to face with a party of Utes out looking for trouble, as they were. There was pause while the two lines stood facing each other.

Then the boy rode out alone, circling before the waiting Utes. The Ute chief came out and chased him back.

"Now," said the youth to one of his followers, "you do as I have just done." Then he waited. When the Ute chief came chasing that Comanche, the young leader dashed down on him and killed him with his spear. That was his strategy. With a yell, he rode straight into the rest of the Utes. He killed two more of them—like lightning. When his fighters saw his brave example, they followed him in. The Utes broke and fled. It was too much for them. Our people chased

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them a long way. Lots of them were killed, but the rest got away. After a while, when the Comanches got tired, they turned back. They scalped the dead bodies of the enemy and took what they wanted besides.

The people were pleased when they got back to the camp with their great deeds. They had a big Victory Dance, celebrating almost until morning. The young girls came again to give a Shakedown Dance; the boy's father gave them three horses.

Later on the warriors gave a Horse Dance. It was a sign they were going on a raid. The boy was with them. This time they had a battle with the Osages. The enemy had three chiefs to lead them; they were out in front, so the young boy charged, killing them all. A regular dog fight followed. But the Osages were without their chiefs, so they could not last very long. When it was over the Comanches cut off the roaches of the Osages for scalps.

The people gave dances just as before. This time the boy's father gave away four horses. Three years had passed. The boy was now a young man of great renown. He was a mighty fighter, a killer of chiefs.

The wearers of the war bonnets held a meeting about him. They talked about the famous things he had done. It was decided the young man should be raised to the status of war chief.

They got ready and set up a buffalo-hide tipi painted over with white clay. The people knew they were going to make a war chief of the young man. He was only nineteen years old, but he was very brave.

They laid buffalo robes and blankets on the smooth floor for the warriors to sit upon; all was ready.

The wearers of war bonnets were first to enter. The bravest went in first; the others followed after. They turned to the left as they passed through the entrance, walking all the way about the tipi until the first one came to the place at the right side of the door. They came in until they lined the edge of the floor. The leader sat at the west side. Then they waited for the young man.

When his turn came he went through the door of the tipi and walked to the left until he came to a vacant space at the side of the leader. The leader got up to address the warriors. He repeated everything the brave had done, closing his speech with these words,

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"This young man has done enough brave deeds. He is honorable and brave. He shall be one of us. He is as brave as any of us and we make him one of us. What is more, I honor him ahead of myself. Hereafter, he is chief in my stead."

Turning to the young man, he took in his hands a fine war bonnet with two rows of feathers as a special honor. Putting the bonnet on the boy's head, he said to him, "This is nothing but a bunch of feathers given by your friends."

The boy was now a war chief. Because the leader had made him chief in his stead, the young warrior walked right to the place to the north of the door and took his seat. The newest member usually had to sit at the end of the line to the south of the door, but he was the greatest fighter they had ever had.

Then it was over. The young war leader rolled up his blanket and walked out; the others followed him.

Ten years later (he was then twenty-nine), he led another big raid—this time to the Mexican border. They attacked a small camp beside an elbow-shaped hill. What they did not notice was that there was another camp—a big one—around the crook of the elbow. They met a lot more resistance than they expected. The Comanches were driven off, their leader surrounded and forced into a draw. He fought fiercely and killed a good many of the enemy until they went away and left him. He was himself shot in the legs.

After he had recovered his strength, he followed slowly after his companions. He traveled eleven days, but could not find them. The eleventh day, he put in at a creek at sunset. He climbed a hill to look about. On the other side he saw some horses and located the smoke from a fire. Leaving his horse behind, he stole up on the lone lodge—a brush hut. He listened and heard a man speaking to a woman. Their talk was Comanche!

He took off his weapons and walked up to them. The man greeted him. He invited him in; he fixed him up with new clothes and gave him a blanket to sit on. This man was an old man; he was living out all alone with his family. He was glad to have some one to talk to him. Supper was served up right away. When it was finished he said, "Now we'll tell stories."

The chief remarked that his host had been telling his wife that

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he was going to shoot a hawk to get some feathers for their boy. "Well, I have some feathers over there in my bundle. Go get him some."

The man was pleased with this offer, and he told his wife to get some of them. When she opened the visitor's bag, he was surprised at all the war materials in it; he saw he had a war chief with him. He wanted to know who he was, so he asked his guest for the name of his father.

"Well, my father is nobody," was the reply he received. "But I got these feathers"—and then he told of all his war deeds that his feathers represented. He also told how his brother ran away.

Then this lonely man knew that here was his own brother. They were happy to be together again.

The older brother asked what had been done about the *nanɛwɔkə* for the wife he had. He learned that it had never been settled because he had never come back to the band. Now was the time to go back.

Together with his younger brother, the chief, he started back to look for their people. His wife and children were with them.

When, at last, they approached the camp, they were met by a lookout. He told them to wait where they were while he rode into the camp to warn their parents. The chief had been given up for dead; his family was in mourning for him. His mother fainted when she heard the good news, but she recovered and washed the caked blood from her gashes. She dusted herself all over with red powder. She was overjoyed.

Then the two brothers came in; after thirteen years the family was reunited. The old man, the father, traded four horses for two large tipis—he got them from a Kiowa who was present. These were the new homes for his sons.

They were waiting for the old man, whose wife the elder brother had stolen, to come up and collect that *nanɛwɔkə*. They wondered why he did not come.

The younger brother, the great chief, told his older brother he would have to give his wife back. "If you can't get another wife, I shall take care of your children myself."

Their mother talked to the older brother.

"Your brother is a big war chief now," she admonished him. "What he says must go."

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So they sent down for the old man to come up. He did not want to go, but one of his wives urged him into it—he now had four wives. 701

The young chief dictated the whole thing. When the old man came into the tipi he told him to sit between his brother and his wife. The old man hesitated. He was afraid. 539

"It is all right," he was assured by the elder brother.

When he was seated, he hugged the children and was very pleased.

"We are going to give you back your wife," the chief told him, "Tomorrow when you come back, we shall have a feast here. Bring one of your wives. Then when we have eaten, you can take this woman and her children to your lodges."

The old man and the woman were not as one once again until they were on their horses and ready to go the next day.

Thereafter the old man told the two brothers to pitch their tipis back of his. "We are brothers now. My wives are yours any time you want. Just for the asking." » » »

On the raid or warpath the leader of a war party was in supreme control of all the activities of his followers as long as they remained in his party. With so loose and voluntary a collection of personnel, disobedience might be expected, but a warrior seldom refused to obey his leader. It was said that a brave leader never asked of his men what he himself would not readily do. Each knew this. Each knew, too, that disobedience might bring disaster to the party. The leader did not use force or punishment. If a man did not trust the ability and wisdom of the war leader, either he did not join or he separated himself from the party. A warrior followed only the leader in whom he had confidence; when he lost confidence, he withdrew from that leader's sphere. This, be it noted, was also the procedure when a man and his friends did not like the way in which things were being run in the band in times of peace. 726

The powers of the war chief included determining the objectives of the raid, designating the scouts, deciding upon the camping places and periods of rest, appointing the cook and water carriers, formulating the general tactics of attack, ordering the expedition to turn back, making a truce with the enemy, and dividing the booty.[9] 726 624

[9] Informant: Yellowfish; see also Hoebel, *The Political Organization and Law-Ways of the Comanche Indians*, 25.

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701 The warriors of most of the Plains tribes were organized into a series of fighting societies or military fraternities. These organizations were secondarily arms of the tribal government or, at least, they functioned as strong pressure groups.[10] The Comanches, however, in keeping with their lack of internal segmentation, possessed only the slightest trace of military fraternities. Informants explained that their societies were something like a combination of our present-day army regiment and lodge organization. Their dearth of historical data and the paucity of material, combined with the lack of information on the part of contemporary Comanches, indicates that the associations were not a developed and integrated part of Comanche culture. There is no evidence that they played an important role in social control and government.

642 Such formal government as existed was limited to the activities of the peace chiefs and war leaders, who acted separately or through the medium of the band councils. The Comanches, like almost all of the tribes east of the Rockies, militarists though they were, wanted no military *junta*. They knew the value and need for constitutional separation of civil and military power. From their point of view, that government was best which governed least.

671 The law system of the Comanche tribe was primitive but dynamic —and exciting. It lacked the maturity and balance of the Cheyenne way. It was crude and lacking in juridical subtlety, but it was fluid, inventive, and colored with its own ideals of justice.

Comanche law-ways functioned without benefit of courts. As might well be expected, in view of the ambiguity of powers of the political chieftains, there were no public officials endowed with law-speaking or law-enforcing authority. Comanche law was neither legislated nor judge-made. It was hammered out on the hard anvil of individual cases by claimant and defendant pressing the issues in terms of Comanche notions of individual rights and tribal standards of right conduct.

It was almost exclusively a system of private law—a law in which the responsibility for instituting legal actions rested with the aggrieved party—a law in which the aggrieved and his personal supporters had

[10] J. H. Provinse, "The Underlying Sanctions of Plains Indian Society," in F. Eggan (ed.), *Social Organization of North American Tribes*, 341–449.

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727 535 then the brave was excused, and the whip owner had to dance himself.

On the fourth day of *Mʌmsɔkɔ's* Brush Dance in 1933 Ralph Linton was adopted into the tribe. In a simple ceremony his war record (World War I) was praised and he was named *Ekakuta*, Red Buffalo, the buffalo who had so much power that he had thrown the Comanche "witch" up to the moon with a toss of his horns. She can be seen there yet. And then in a touching tribute and climax *Pinedapoi*, the Whip Owner, stepped forward and, placing his whip in the hands of Ralph Linton, announced that he was relinquishing it to a younger and greater warrior.

In pre-reservation days successful raiders who reached the village with many horses sometimes gave a part or all of them away. A young man who was courting a girl might drive all his horses to her father's lodge and leave them there. A young warrior who had gained high distinction while on the warpath was likely to be serenaded upon his return. On the morning after the Scalp or Victory Dance, young maidens of the camp dressed like warriors. They congregated before the young man's tipi to do the Shakedown Dance and sing the songs. The boy and his father knew why they were there. They were paying honor to the young warrior, and it was customary to present gifts to the serenaders in return. The boy's father, proud of his son's exploits, came out and gave horses to the girls. Later, when the boy had accumulated a supply of horses, he made the gifts himself.

701 554 Military fraternities did not become a developed and integrated part of Comanche culture to the extent that they did among other tribes of the plains. Most of the Comanche warrior groups appear to have been informal organizations compounded of mutual friendship and interests, and they were not continuous or permanent. Although not formally organized into an association, the wearers of full-feathered war bonnets formed a special class, called war leaders, similar to top-ranking military men in our own society in wartime.

The buffalo-scalp-bonnet wearers were of a lower order. The buffalo-scalp hat was decorated with a row of eagle feathers. The breast feathers were tied about the bottom of the quill and reached down to the waist of the wearer. At the top of the buffalo scalp was a bunch of magpie feathers set back on the center of the head. The bonnet was assumed and worn by any brave, not necessarily a chief,

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who felt worthy and desired to accept the responsibility it imposed upon the wearer. There was definitely no ceremonial bestowal. Usually the bonnet was made by friends of the warrior and presented to him as a token of esteem. The acceptance of a buffalo-scalp bonnet was a serious matter, for the people afterwards expected him to prove himself really worthy of their confidence. Failure meant ridicule and disgrace. After the surrender of the Comanches at Fort Sill, Gets to Be a Middle-aged Man hung his buffalo-scalp bonnet in a tree, never to wear it again. "A man who is beaten has no right to wear such a thing," he said.

Women sometimes made a war bonnet in secret to bestow upon a braggart whose words spoke louder than his deeds, and the presentation was made in public at an opportune moment. The recipient of such a war bonnet had to live up to the obligations of that war bonnet or else lose it and become an object of ridicule and scorn.

The Comanche war leader was under obligation never to retreat except under certain conditions which were well understood, and then only when the other warriors were safe first. He protected the rear as they retreated. The war bonnet was a symbol of tribal integrity and honor to the Comanches to be protected at all costs, "just like the flag." The mere fact that he assumed such responsibility made the war leader a rallying point for all other fighters. The war-bonnet wearer could be rescued with honor by a fellow warrior who dared to dash in and carry him from the field. It was also the duty of a war leader to help a dismounted comrade. Should he fail to do so, any other war chief who observed his disloyalty could publicly upbraid him with the act and thereby cause him to lose his status and right to wear the war bonnet if judged guilty. If a war-bonnet wearer cast off his bonnet and fled, he lost his right to wear it, and all other men would address him as *paβi*, "elder sister." An aspirant brave who wished to obtain the status of war leader might immediately do so by dashing in and recovering the bonnet. He hung it on a bush and protected it all day in the face of the enemy. At sundown, if he charged the enemy four times, the bonnet and all its honors and obligations were his. The lower-rank bonnet could be picked up by any one who saw it and was willing to assume the obligations adhering thereto.

Young warriors who had not attained the rank of war-bonnet

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Young warriors who had not attained the rank of war-bonnet wearers sometimes seem to have banded together into semi-military fraternities or dance groups. Among those noted in more or less descending popularity, according to informants, were the Crow, Shield, Big Pony (Big Horse), Little Horse (Little Pony), Fox, Buffalo, Gourd, and Drum. These groups seem, however, to have been limited to the northern bands. A youth was likely to join the group of his brother or father, but there was no obligation to do so. He made known his choice, and if the group was willing to accept him, he was admitted. There was keen rivalry among the dancers to secure members who gave evidence of becoming brave warriors. Sometimes the pipe was forced into their mouth. Members were somewhat like brothers. They went on the warpath together and helped bury and mourn a dead fellow member. They had their own distinguishing insignia, songs, and dances, which could not be used by anyone else. When a group sponsored a dance, none but members could attend, except by invitation. They had social get-togethers and held dances in the day or evening, but more frequently in the evening. Dances occurred more often immediately preceding the departure or following the return of a war party or at the time of the communal hunt. Both men and women took part in their social dances. The warrior groups also competed in athletic events, sports, and military exercises. When a member determined to lead a revenge or raiding party, he could usually rely on the support of his own group, but other warriors were welcome to join a party. And when a leader had the support of the majority of the members of his dance group, the War Dance was referred to by the name of his society.

There were minor differences in the purposes and interests of the several organizations, but in general they were much the same. All the members of the Shield group carried identical shields which had been inspired by a vision. The shields were sacred, and among the many requirements for handling them was the one that they could not be permitted to touch the ground. The sacred-shield bearer often found it essential to have a wife accompany him on the warpath to care for his shield.

The Crow Tassel Wearers wore a special type of war bonnet made of fine feathers clipped short except for one large one which was trimmed to scalloped edges. The wearers prepared their own emblem

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under the tutelage of a man who possessed one, as in the case of the Shield group. They placed a tassel on their left shoulder and one in the hair, taking the Crow Tassel pledge to dedicate themselves to unceasing war. A man who had no surviving family or a man who had a family tradition with a fighting reputation to uphold might become a member. The members dedicated their lives to war. War was their business. They recognized no family ties of restraint. Loyalty to one another was a superior obligation. They fought and raided together as a unit. They pursued the war goal with such singleness of mind and purpose that they were apart from the larger society. Yet they were free to dissolve the band when they so desired. If they had been successful, when they dissolved the band, they became leading men in the community by virtue of their prestige.[28]

Among many of the Plains tribes there were "crazy" warriors who did everything backwards. The Cheyennes called them Contrary Ones; the Crow Indians, Crazy Dogs Wishing to Die. The Comanches, too, had a few of these men, called *pukutsi*.

Any man brave enough and desiring to do so could become a *pukutsi* on making up his mind, according to Frank Moeta. He carried a buffalo-scrotum rattle in his hand and would go about the camp singing, no matter what else might be going on. Everything he did was in inversion, but no one ever molested a *pukutsi*, because he was so recklessly brave.

He wore a long sash over his shoulder and rolled up under his arm. In battle, he rolled out his sash, stuck the free end into the ground with an arrow, and there took his stand. With bow in one hand and rattle in the other, he stood singing, tethered by his sash. He neither fought nor charged, but sang his songs until victory was won or death took him. Only a friend could come and free him. Should he give way in battle or release himself after the fight was done, the other warriors would taunt him in an attempt to egg him into an overt act against them so they could kill him.

There were not many of these men among the Comanches. Carrying Her Sunshade in all her long life knew only one. Of him she had the following story.

[28] Informant: Kills Something.

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« « « This *pukutsi* was going through the camp, singing as usual.

An old woman stopped him and said, "*Pukutsi*, I want you to kill me a buffalo. I need the hide to use for my saddle; I have no boys to get one for me."

He went and was gone from the camp for a long time. Finally he came back at night with the whole skin of a Pawnee, even with hands and feet still on it, and he hung it up like a man standing there against her arbor.

Some man saw it there and called in to her in her lodge, "That *pukutsi* is back. Your hide is out here on the arbor."

Early in the morning she got up and went out to get it. That human skin frightened her. Then that man came by and told her she should not have asked a *pukutsi* to do such a job. "He is afraid of nothing."

"Well, I didn't ask him to bring me an enemy," she complained. But that's the way it is with *pukutsi*. You ask them to do one thing and they do just the opposite.

When she got over her first scare, the old woman jumped up and down and sang. She had an enemy scalp, which she kept. » » »

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The waging of war was a matter of individual initiative, but the making of peace was a matter for the chiefs. A war leader on a raid could make peace in behalf of his own party on his own authority, but such a peace was not binding upon other members of the band or upon the tribe. Band peace was made only upon consent of the war leaders, the council of elders, and the head chief. Tribal peace could be attained only when agreed upon and recognized by all the bands.

For all their devotion to war, the Comanches accepted the fact that a people cannot fight everybody on all fronts at once. The home base had to afford some measure of security for hunting and everyday living. Thus the Comanches worked out a sort of national policy of defensive alliances with their more powerful neighbors to their north, keeping their southern, western, and eastern frontiers open for far-ranging aggressive action.

Peace with the Kiowas was cemented in 1790 through the good offices of a mutual Spanish friend.[29] No details of this step are known,

his actual war deeds. When the "fort" had been taken, the whole group returned to camp singing victory songs. This episode symbolized the triumph of the Comanche over their enemies.

On the evening of this day the crier rode through the whole camp calling on the people to get ready. The members of each band assembled in front of their tipis and at a given signal all the bands began to move toward the lodge. Each band was marshalled and driven along by its War Whip Bearer. This functionary was chosen for bravery, being presumably the most important warrior in the band. He directed all dances and was allowed to strike any one who refused to dance, or who seemed backward, with his war whip, a long flat club, notched along one edge. Even to point this club at an individual was enough to bring him into the dance since he would fall ill if he refused.

The various bands moved toward the lodge obliquely, avoiding a direct approach to the entrance but marching in such a way that they would all finally congregate in front of it. As they moved each band did its favorite dance and sang a song of its own. When the first song was finished, the War Whip Bearer called on the band to halt, saying that he had something with which to quench the people's thirst. He then recounted some of his war deeds, assuring the people that they were not true, although they actually were. At the mention of each man whom he had killed the drum was struck. After this coup counting another song would be begun and the people would dance forward again. There were four halts of this sort, the last one finding them in front of the door of the lodge. Here the whole group danced for some time with a slow stamping step. Finally, the camp crier announced that the real dance would begin in the morning, saying that the herd of buffalo had been located by the scout sent out to find them. The people then dispersed.

The dance proper began the following morning with the buffalo round up. Four men, all brave warriors, had been selected to play the part of the buffalo. They were disguised in buffalo robes, one always being that of an old and scabby bull. These men were hidden at some distance from the camp and an especially brave warrior was sent out to find them and drive them in. He carried a bow and arrows in his right hand and a torch in his left, these being the means for killing and cooking the buffalo. The warrior came back driving the buffalo before him and into the lodge. Three of them went in at once, but the old bull ran around the lodge four times before he entered. After this ceremony, which symbolized the bringing of food to the people, the "buffalo" removed their costumes and left the lodge quietly. The same person might act both as a buffalo and as one of the regular

7: Richardson D-4 (no date) 1929
NO6 Comanche NO6

upon the side of the horse thus making of the animal a perfect screen between themselves and an imaginary enemy. "In this wonderful condition," he relates, "he will hang whilst his horse is at fullest speed, carrying with him his bow and his shield, and also long lance of fourteen feet in length, all or either of which he will wield upon his enemy as he passes; rising and throwing his arrows over the horses' back, or with equal ease and equal success under the horse's neck." Finally the artist learned that a partial explanation of the marvel was in the fact that a short hair halter was passed under the neck of the horse and both ends tightly braided into the mane on the withers. Through this loop the young warrier ran his arm and thus secured an anchor and rest for the fore part of his body.[20]

Horses were naturally the only form of wealth available to the Comanches. They were both useful and easily moved and an Indian's wealth was measured by the number of horses he possessed. Their horses were of good, indifferent or poor quality, depending on the success a given band had had in recruiting their scrubby mustang herds with better bred animals taken from the Mexican or Anglo-American frontier. With these Indians horse-stealing was both a science and an art and no warrior's training was complete until he was proficient in this respect. At the camp on the Clear Fork, in 1854, previously referred to, one warrior carried a shield "Ornamented with a *human scalp*, a grizzly bear's claw and a mule's tail, significant of the brave warrior and successful hunter and horse-thief."[21] Chief Is-sa-keep, of a band of northern Comanches, once told Captain Marcy that his four sons were as fine young men as could be found, that they were a great comfort to him in his old age, "and could steal more horses than any other young men in his band."[22] The brave's best horse was always saved for the hunt or war party and the Indian had that love for their favorite steed that always characterizes good horsemen.

As is the case among most savage peoples, war was a normal condition with the Comanches. For instance if expediency dictated that there be peace between the Comanches and Osages, the Texas

20. North American Indians, II, 73-74.
21. Parker, Notes Taken with Marcy, 195.
22. Exploration of the Red River, 97.

175 721 648 727 ly alarming as suggested by a report of 1751 which claimed 500 Pueblo Indians and Spanish colonists had been massacred up to that date. When the Indians numbering several hundred fell on Pecos Pueblo in the summer of this same year, the Spaniards organized a pursuit force and retaliated by surprising the Comanches in their camp, killing 101, and taking the remainder prisoner. Although victories such as this were uncommon, the New Mexican colonists, having realized the gravity of their problems, were more willing to tighten their defenses and join with protective or punitive expeditions at a moment's notice.

175 721 648

Unfortunately, the stiffened resistance merely sharpened the challenge for the Comanche warrior who thrived on danger. So, far from diminishing, the Indian offenses against New Mexico continued to increase in number and severity. In 1774, for example, almost a thousand warriors devastated the Tewa district north of Santa Fe. If this figure for their fighting force is accurate, it strongly suggests that the Comanches, since moving onto the plains and adapting to horse culture and buffalo hunting, had experienced something of a population explosion. At the end of the century, General Pedro de Nava estimated 2,000 warriors for the Eastern Comanches and 4,000 for the Western.

175 701 [648] [721] [161]

175 648 [721] 411 [728]

The Spaniards won minor victories now and then, but by the 1770's the Comanches had acquired firearms in quantity so that they were an even more formidable enemy. Nevertheless Governor Juan Bautista de Anza in 1785 succeeded in summoning a peace council composed of the leading chiefs of

eenth century. Although the Comanches resumed their attacks on the upper Rio Grande Valley in the following century, these were never as damaging as the blows which had fallen on the province in the years immediately prior to the treaties.

After independence from Spain, when New Mexico was a remote province of the Mexican Republic, the intensity of Comanche incursions increased somewhat—Pecos Pueblo was reduced to utter ruin by 1838—but on the whole the raiders concentrated more heavily on the towns and villages of northern Mexico.

Comanches, traveling in parties as large as 500 and fully organized under their own officers, annually laid waste entire districts as far south as Fresnillo and Zacatecas. A well-defined road appeared—the Great Comanche War Trail—which led from the high plains of Texas across the Big Bend of the Río Grande to strike at the mining communities and haciendas from Durango southward, and according to some reports, as far west as the Gulf of California.

The anxious citizens kept lookouts constantly in the field to give warning of the Comanche approach. Once the alarm had been sounded, settlers, and peones with their families fled to the security of strongly fortified haciendas in somewhat the same manner as the peasants of medieval Europe must have sought refuge in castles from warrior Vikings.

Rather strong evidence suggests that the Comanches during several decades of friendly contact with the Spaniards in New Mexico through observation had learned much concerning the European military system and tactics and had adapted these to their own service.

13: Simmons H-4 (no date) 1967 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1785-1819) New Mexico

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own service. It is known, for example, that the Comanches on raiding the plains of Durango, more than once defeated Mexican troops in pitched battles.

Riding down from the north in good order, the Indians were organized under their own "generals" and "captains" and in a number of cases even wore articles of Spanish military apparel, gifts, no doubt, of the authorities in Santa Fe. The entire question of Comanche military organization during this period is an intriguing one and deserves more study.

The details of Comanche history from 1820 to 1879, the period of conflict with the Anglo-Americans, are familiar to historians. From the accounts of Santa Fe traders, frontiersmen and scouts, and soldiers who fought in the last wars on the southern plains have come down to us a fairly sharp picture of the final days of the Comanche nation.

By contrast, the movements and activities of this great Indian tribe in the century and a quarter after 1700 remains, in considerable measure, a mystery. Some of what is known has been sketched above. A great deal more information, however, lies hidden in colonial documents, awaiting discovery by researchers. A start has been made, notably by Alfred B. Thomas, but much remains to be done.

The seven documents translated herein each throw small rays of light on obscure phases of Comanche history, providing clues to the tribe's relation both with the Spaniards and with neighboring Indian groups. Of particular interest is the summary of the treaty arranged with the Eastern Comanches in 1785

13: Simmons H-4 (no date) 1967 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1785-1819) New Mexico

Document Two

REPORT OF THE COMMANDANT GENERAL of the Western Interior Provinces, Jacobo Ugarte y Loyola, to the Viceroy of New Spain, Manuel Antonio Flórez, on the importance of maintaining peace with the Comanches, and campaigns which they have executed against the Apaches, March 13, 1788.

SINCE the Comanche Nation made peace with us, its members have undertaken on their own initiative various campaigns against the Apaches, in addition to supplying us voluntarily with units of warriors who have joined our expeditions in New Mexico. 175 648 721

On one expedition which they carried out last July with 95 men commanded by one of their captains called Ysampami, they managed to kill five Faraon Apaches, making prisoner 35 individuals of both sexes and of all ages, according to a declaration made in a message from the General of the [Comanche] Nation to the Governor of the Province [of New Mexico], Dn Juan Bautista de Anza. The original copy of this report is being sent to Your Excellency. 175 648 727 701 175 648

There is no doubt that these Indian warriors will launch other campaigns against the barbarians who are their implacable foes. I have advised the pres-

19: Lowie E-5 (1912) 1915 NO6 Comanche NO6

COMANCHE DANCES.

The dances of the Comanche seem to have been, at least to some extent, associated with their bands. These were purely local divisions that had nothing to do with the regulation of marriage. Of the fairly large number listed by Mr. Mooney,[1] my informants recollected only the following four bands:—

Yápairē'ka, Yampa-eaters, north of the other Comanche;

Kwā'are, Antelopes, in part of Oklahoma and Colorado, and the panhandle section of Texas;

Nókōni, or Nóyeka, Travelers, in the mountainous regions of Oklahoma;

Pē'natē'ka, Honey, or Wasp-eaters, living toward the Rio Grande.

Of these bands, the Yápairē'ka is correlated with the Crow dance (tōwī nō'ō'kà); the Kwā'are, with the Colt (tírewō'ku-nō'ō'ka) and the Horse dance; the Nókōni and the Pénatē'ka, with the swift-fox (wō'tsi[2] nō'ō'ka) dance. The Buffalo dance (ā'anō'kā'r) was the common property of all the bands, but each band performed it by itself.

The only earlier account of Comanche dances known to me is by Clark. After listing the Swift Fox, Gourd, Raven, Buffalo Bull, and Afraid-of-Nothing societies, he states:—

> "The Comanche have five bands, and claimed that the difference is in the dances prior to getting up a war-party." In another place he writes: "The Comanches have the Raven, Buffalo Bull, Swift Fox,— all war-dances,— and Dance of Fear, with shields and lances, when they expect an attack; Turkey-Dance, imitating motions of turkeys. The Deer-Dance might be called the juggler's-dance, as the dancers pretend to swallow red beans and then draw them out through the breast."[3]

On the whole, I certainly received the impression that dances were, at least preferentially, associated with definite bands. One informant, however, denied any such correlation. According to him, the Comanche, in war times, were organized in different companies, which he compared with subdivisions of a regiment of soldiers. He enumerated the Crow, Fox, Drum, Big Horse, and Little Horse companies. If nothing unusual happened, a man would remain true to the division he had first chosen, but there was no special bond of friendship between members of the same company.

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[1] *Handbook of North American Indians*, article "Comanche."
[2] Another informant said this was a swift bird.
[3] Clark, 355, 141.

19: Lowie E-5 (1912) 1915 NO6 Comanche NO6

their drums. There was a strict rule, that no dog must run ahead of the performers lest it be shot; so women would bid their children take care of any dogs they prized. Sometimes, however, a man who specially liked his dog might be asked to sacrifice it on this occasion. This taboo may have been common to several groups of dancers, but dogs were certainly especially offensive to those of the Crow division.

During any of the dances the managers would threaten to strike laggards with clubs.

About the other dances I was only able to learn that the Horses and Little Horses wore buffalo-skin sashes that lacked the slit found elsewhere, and used rawhide rattles, decorated with yellow-hammer feathers; the Horses also had spears, trimmed with eagle feathers.

When the master of the nā'wapinàr had decided that the time for action had arrived, he caused the dancing to cease and had the Comanche prepare for the warpath. On the night before setting out the tribesmen assembled, coming in pairs toward the front and in single file behind. Then occurred the ceremony called nfotsāit'. The women brought a buffalo hide and sticks. Some men held up one side of the hide, while the women held the opposite side, and all belabored it with the sticks, a special song being intoned by the master alone and taken up by the rest.[1]

On the next day the Comanche started against the enemy, led by the master. They appointed scouts to determine the hostile tribe's position. On their return buffalo chips were piled up, and the leader went in front of the heap to sing a war song. The pile of chips represented a sort of oath to the effect that the enemy's camp was really situated in the place specified, and also marked a spot for the Comanche to return to. After a successful raid public thanks were rendered to those who had avenged the injury. Scalps were set on a pole and carried aloft by the main chief as he rode ahead on the return trip. His body was stripped to the waist and painted black. War songs were chanted and guns were discharged as the party came back. Those who had remained in camp saw the scalp and knew that the injury had been avenged.

A number of questions were asked to determine traces of typical elements of military societies as found among the Plains tribes. In reply to one of these queries I was told that some warriors had hooked sticks with a long spear point at the bottom, the bent part being decorated with two pairs of eagle feathers. I could not ascertain that these regalia were correlated with a special tribal division or dance. Again, I learned that there were

[1] This ceremony has been noted among the Nez Percé, Lemhi Shoshone, and Crow. The last-mentioned tribe borrowed it from the (Wind River) Shoshone.

19: Lowie E-5 (1912) 1915 NO6 Comanche NO6

formerly certain "dauntless men," called pía rē'kap ē'kapit (Large Red Buffalo Meat), but these, too, were not associated with a special group. They were expected to act very quietly and practise uncommunicativeness (naſimeàpaïet). One of them, who was killed by the Navajo, had a blue or some other cross painted on his quiver, and carried a singular tomahawk with long blade and eagle feather tied to the handle. There was nothing distinctive about the dress worn by these dauntless men.

In connection with the buffalo hunt there does not seem to have been any police body, and though the tribesmen were warned not to advance ahead of their fellows, the only punishment meted out to offenders was to reprove them. On the other hand, the Big Horse company does seem to have regulated traveling. They had no other political function except to act as guides when the Comanche were on the march and to make peace with other tribes. Wakinſ said that the Big Horses numbered about twenty and were always mature men. They had a distinctive song, but never danced by themselves. They painted their bodies red, down to the waist, and tied hawk and sparrowhawk feathers to the back of the head, so that these would flutter as their wearers moved. They carried dewclaw rattles and wore a sash made from a part of the skin of a buffalo taken from its neck.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

657 make the cultural transition they have been called upon to
178 accomplish. As a result of its work, many tribal superstitions
177 are being discarded for modern scientific concepts.
[757] Although hardly a Comanche would accept a white physi-
[756] cian at the beginning of the reservation period, the Indian practitioner today is almost a forgotten man.

186 The Comanches are still confronted with many sociolog-
178 ical and psychological problems of adjustment. They have
177 not entirely disintegrated, nor have they been completely
182 assimilated. They are still Indian and want to follow the Indian pattern; their environment, experience, and teaching encourages them to discard it. They are intensely proud of being Comanche, and cherish their cultural heritage. They feel that they were unjustly robbed of their homeland, but know that they must make the best of their situation. The conflict between the old and the new often prevents the acceptance of any regular pattern of conduct and leads to confusion or unusual situations.

[291] The matter of custom is vital to the Comanches. It is
[302] difficult to discard tradition. Some old women still wear their blankets, and a few old men continue to paint their
431 faces and to wear their hair in plaits. The tradition of gen-
[454] erosity does not fit well in American society for it is an impediment to economic security. Their idea of a pleasant life does not include saving, because saving had no place in their primitive society. The give-away dance has not entirely disappeared, and those who give are the losers and afterwards may seek the aid of the government.

157 There still exists a strong incentive toward the glorifica-
181 tion of the individual. This character trait was a regular
[178] feature of the old social system, where the aim of the warrior was to gain glory and where there was constant acknowledgment of his achievements. It led to an immense
[152] sensitiveness to praise and censure. The Comanches, as a result, require more praise than the white man to function,
157 and they suffer more than the white man from censure. The
181 attitude was readily apparent in 1945. More than two hun-
701

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

dred Comanches were in military service. The people were proud of their young warriors and showered them with honors remarkably like the treatment accorded the warriors when they were the lords of the Southern Plains.

The love of pageantry creates a problem. The business-like course of white life deprives the Comanches of more of it than they like. This characteristic of the people is apparent at the annual Indian Exposition at Anadarko, a commercial show sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce. The performance has little historical accuracy, but this does not offend the Indians. They are more concerned with the spirit of display than about historical authenticity. They will bankrupt themselves to get there, and then wear an unheard of costume with self-satisfaction. Any special occasion, as Christmas and July 4, affords opportunity for pageantry. Departing and returning warriors of World War II were honored with feasts, parades, and variations of the old-time war and victory dances.

The Comanches have always gotten a great deal of pleasure from social contacts. Today they tend to indulge in this type of pleasure at the expense of their work and obligations. Council meetings, ceremonies, and family consultations once brought the people together, but now decisions are made individually with white officials. The peyote ceremony was, in part, an attempt to satisfy the social urge.

At the close of a full life-span of time since they were compelled to give up their nomadic life, a few Comanches still sit and dream of past glories and of an untrammeled people who dwelt in an unmeasured wilderness. In retrospect they see once more the trooping warriors as they gallop toward the fray and hear their defiant whoops. They sit in the charmed circle of counsellors of the tribe. Of reservations and agents, of farms and towns, of railways and other innovations they grow forgetful. There will be some who will continue to dream until the end of life.

On the other hand, the Comanches as a group have long since ceased to roam, to strive for the old, or to dream.

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

(ca. 1818)

By comparison with the several minor hordes that are located in the province of Texas, the Comanchees are certainly a very considerable nation. But much is abstracted from their political importance, by their habitual indolence, and their utter unfitness for any thing like serious and protracted warfare. I speak relatively, and under the presumption that they are to be seriously and perseveringly opposed. Without, however, making any moral abatements, they will fall considerably short of the opinion that has obtained in your quarter, as to their actual strength. The idea has been frequently propagated that they can furnish from 12 to 20,000 warriors, and those too of no ordinary prowess.

I do not conceive it necessary to inculcate exaggerated notions of their aggregate strength, or individual bravery, in order to make out their pretensions to the notice of at least the territorial government of Arkansas. Estimate them as they really are, and they may be found sufficiently formidable to excite alarm in a feeble and unprotected frontier; and no portion of our country has partaken less of the parental kindness of the federal administration, than that which is most immediately exposed to their depredations. The following will be found as correct a statement of their numbers and general character as a close observation during a residence among them for several months, has enabled me to obtain.

The tribe known among us by the term Comanchees, is divided into three great parties, each of which is distinguished by a separate appellation, to wit:

Comanchees, Yamparacks, and Tenaways.*

The Comanchees, the lower or most southern party, range through a section of country that is watered by the Colorado or Red river of Texas, embracing in their circuits both sides of the river, from its headwaters to the confluence

*There were at this time at least half a dozen Comanche divisions. It is well to remember that Burnet had direct acquaintance with relatively few Comanches and his means of learning about the others was limited.

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

(ca. 1818)

of the St. Saba, which empties into the Colorado about 60 miles north of St. Antonio. Their migrations are bounded on the west by the mountains, which are generally barren and destitute of game, and on the east by the river Brazos. It is this band principally, that is engaged in the predatory warfare upon the inhabitants of Texas, which they have prosecuted with great assiduity for several years past and which they have continued, with short intervals of peace, from time "whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary." Their incursions have not been confined to the province of Texas, which the miserable attempt at revolution in 1812 has effectually, drained of its once immense herds of mules and horses, but they extend their depredations to the several contiguous provinces beyond the Rio Grande. This party can probably bring into the field about 1500 warriors; but to parade this number, I doubt whether they would not be obliged to put in requisition the virgin bows of unfledged boyhood. The largest party they have been known to muster for a campaign, was estimated by eye-witnesses at 12 or 1500 men; and those who are apprised of the imposing spectacle exhibited by a Comanchee parade, will not suspect a *coup d'oeil* estimate, of extenuation. It was known that many of their kindred band, the Yamparacks, were associated with them, and contributed to eke out the formidable array.

I will resume my remarks as opportunity may offer.

B*****.

[*The Cincinnati Literary Gazette*, May 15, 1824]

Letter II

The next party in geographical order is the Yamparacks. These occupy the head waters of the Colorado, occasionally extending their migrations to the tributary streams of the Rio del Norte. They frequently intermingle with, and are found among the Comanchees and are, in no respect dissimilar to them, in manners, customs or appearance, but are virtually the same people, speak the same language, and are characterized by the same peculiarities. There is one

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

[ca. 1818]

exception, however, to the general resemblance.—The Yamparacks are more honest and punctilious in their dealings, and much less addicted to thievery. This may be accounted for, by the fewness of their opportunities of trade; the commercial intercourse between the Indians and whites, has invariably had a demoralizing influence on the untutored Savages.

The Yamparacks can probably furnish from 7 to 800 warriors. These frequently unite with the Comanchees, and participate largely in their depredations on the provincial Spaniards.

Of the Tenaways my information is less minute and authentic, they being seldom visited in their distinct villages, by Americans. But they sometimes descend by families, or small parties, to the Comanchee range, to solicit the charity of their brethren who are more contiguous to our settlements, and are constantly supplied with a profusion of such articles as their fancies or necessities require, and who are extremely liberal to their less favored and often destitute kindred. From the representations of the Comanchees and some of their own chiefs, I conclude their numerical strength does not vary much from that of the Yamparacks. This would place the entire aggregate force of the three tribes at about 3000 warriors, which I presume is a probable computation.

The Tenaways range through a mountainous district that separates the waters of the Rio del Norte, from the rivers of Texas, and they sometimes extend their perambulations to the head waters of the Red River of Natchitoches. They carry on a small traffic with the Spaniards of Santa Fee, from whom they receive blankets, knives and tobacco, in exchange for the mules and horses which they capture from the Spaniards of the adjacent Provinces. They often mingle with the Yamparacks when traversing the southern extreme of their range. The utmost harmony subsists between these several bands. They have no distinct limits assigned them, neither does one party claim, in relation to another, any exclusive sovereignty over the particular sec-

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1960 NO6 Comanche NO6
(ca. 1870)

The husband may repudiate his wife or wives at any time, and take back his presents. The wife too, for some causes, may rebel against her tyrant lord, and leave off serving him. This course on the part of a Comanche wife, covers the husband with such disgrace that it can only be removed by killing someone—the first person he may happen to meet is made the victim. It nearly always happens that he first meets with his truant wife, or some near friend of hers, first after suffering the great disgrace, and, of course, he proceeds to slay her, or the vicarious relative.

IF THE COMANCHE can be said to live under any government, it may be set down as a radical democracy. The war chiefs are elected, on occasions of war, by the council of warriors. Their authority is only countenanced and their commands obeyed while hostilities continue. In peace, their authority is merely that derived from their wealth and prowess. The Comanches honor courage and skill in war, and the successful warrior is generally made a chief of some band. There is no unity in the tribe. Besides the seven sub-tribes into which they are divided, each of the seven is made up of small parties, each of which has a leader. In many respects the autonomy of the Comanche tribe differs from any other North American Indians. In most respects, the tribal government is very much the same as found among Xicarillo, Mescaleros, and other wandering Apaches, to which family it is claimed they are nearly related. But in two or three important particulars their method or system of government is entirely distinct from and wholly unlike that of any other people.

When a chief or prominent warrior wishes to organize a warlike expedition, he takes his yellow shield, puts on his eagle plumes, smears war-paint over his face, and assuming the weapons borne by warriors, he rides at a furious pace among the lodges, chanting his war-song as he goes. Any warrior who has taken two scalps may thus organize a marauding expedition, and no authority of chiefs or councils can prevent it. If there are warriors willing to join him they immediately mount their ponies, armed and equipped, and follow the warrior, who first declared war. Their chant is united with his, and thus a war party is made up. But it is not often that the entire band declares for war. The promoter of the war may be a simple warrior, without any authority whatever. For that particular expedition he may be chosen chief, or they may select another to lead them. When going against an enemy the commands of the chiefs are generally obeyed with alacrity. In peaceful seasons they have virtually no chief, or rather every venerable warrior among them is a chief, whose

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1960 NO6 Comanche NO6
(ca. 1870)

authority is measured by the amount of wealth he may possess and his reputation for courage and skill in war.

The authority of their war-chiefs often terminates at the conclusion of a single expedition, their official term expiring by limitation.

Once a year they have a general council, at which they settle disputes between rival warriors, make regulations and discuss matters pertaining to the welfare of the people. In this council all warriors are entitled to participate, which means, all the grown up men of the tribe. Occasionally a warrior of great wealth, that is the owner of many ponies, and of great personal prowess, will exercise a sort of chieftaincy for many years together. But such instances are rare.

The council frame certain rules, sanctioned by custom, and not in contravention to the will of the majority, and these are proclaimed by a chief man, who rides among the lodges, pausing at convenient points to recite the law in the hearing of all the people.

Theft, adultery and murder are the cardinal crimes, and for the punishment of these offences, custom has established precedents which have all the authority of a written code. For the first, the offender may satisfy justice by restitution and additional gifts. The second is a crime which, according to Comanche law, men are incapable of committing. The woman guilty of this offense may be punished by castigation, mutilation, or the infliction of the death penalty, at the will of the husband. Her paramour, however, if disposed, can placate the husband by presents. For murder, the penalty is death. The friends and relatives of the victim would disgrace themselves by compounding the felony. They are constituted the avengers, and invariably put to death the criminal, if they can find him. These are about all the offenses cognizable by the Comanche code.

THE COMANCHES ARE GREAT STORY-TELLERS. In the mild autumn evenings they gather about the lodges in groups of five or six, and each one endeavors to surpass the others in marvelous stories, either of his own adventures or those of some other person. They have a series of fables, probably obtained from the Spanish Jesuit missionaries, who it is known visited them almost two centuries ago, which they term the "Talks of the Liar." The Comanche name for liar is *esop*, which considering the striking similarity between the "Talks of the *Esop*-Liar," and the fables of the Greek confirms me in the opinion that a majority of the lodge-fire stories of the Comanches are but modified versions of the fables familiar to every school-boy who is set to learn another language than his own. In these fables the fawn is substituted for the lamb, the bear for the lion, the coyote

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1786)

all eight about seven hundred, and that there were three to four warriors in each tent, i.e., between six and seven thousand souls.[6] He noted, too, that these Comanche owned about nine hundred beasts of burden, including five herds of mares. More specifically he mentioned that Chief Canaquaipe ruled over one hundred and fifty-five tents, and Chief Malla (Equeracapa), one hundred and fifty-seven. Eastward beyond these Cuchanec Ortiz reported others who ranged as far as the Jumano and Taguayace,[7] then settled on lands in southern present Oklahoma and northern Texas, near the town of Ringgold, Texas, of today.[8] The accuracy of this information was shortly established by Spanish explorers who between 1787–1789 visited the Taguayace and Comanche along the Red river in that area.[9]

From an anthropological point of view, the photostatic record of the Comanche report adds further interesting details to the small fund of Comanche information.[10] It will be noted that this Tally Sheet reveals the Comanche organized into five groups with the leaders of each, accompanied by a lance, standing in a very definite position with regard to each group. The *Noticia* also has the Comanche chiefs' names arranged in five groups. Possibly this organization is characteristic of the later eighteenth century Comanche arrangement in a war party. Lowie refers to a similar organization of Comanche bands.

[7] Ynforme de Franco Xavier Ortiz. This Informe also accompanies the above Relacion in Tomo 65 of the Provincias Internas. Ortiz was among the Comanche from April to May, 1786, to see how they were observing the peace treaty of the past February. Ortiz was accompanied by Josef Manuel Roxo who claimed and was supported by testimonials from twenty-one prominent citizens of New Mexico, that he had voluntarily made a journey east of Pecos in the preceding January (1786) and had persuaded some Comanche to visit Anza for the purpose of making the peace finally entered into. See these testimonials in El Consejo al Comandante Interino de provincias Internas, Madrid, abril 8 de 1787 (104–6–23 Archivo General de Indias, Seville).

[8] For an account of the Comanche and Taovaya in this area between 1759 and 1789 see H. E. Bolton, Athanase de Mezieres and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier 1768–1780, 1: 79–122; Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century, 89–90, 121–133; The Jumano Indians in Texas 1650–1771 (Quarterly of the Texas State Hist. Assoc., vol. 15, No. 1).

[9] H. E. Bolton, Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century, 129–133. The present writer is preparing the diaries of these expeditions for publication.

[10] The writer is indebted to Dr. Leslie Spier for the information and suggestions concerning the anthropological aspects of this document.

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"The only earlier account of Comanche dances known to me is by Clark. After listing the Swift Fox, Gourd, Raven, Buffalo Bull, and Afraid-of-Nothing societies, he states:

> The Comanche had five bands, and claimed that the difference is in the dances prior to getting up a war-party.

In another place he adds:

> The Comanches have the Raven, Buffalo Bull, Swift-Fox,-all-war dances and Dance of Fear, with shields and lances, when they expect an attack . . . . ."[11]

It is perhaps significant that the bands number five, since five, as is well known, is the pattern number of some of the Basin Shoshoneans.

With regard to the "f" shaped figures in the reproduction here, it has been suggested[12] to the writer that possibly these are crooked lances which are badges of office common to the various military societies found among the Plains Indians generally.[13] Hooked lances as noted by Lowie were among the Comanche typical elements in their military societies:

> A number of questions were asked to determine traces of typical elements of military societies as found among the Plains tribes. In reply to one of these queries I was told that some warriors had hooked sticks with a long spear point at the bottom, the bent part being decorated with two pairs of eagle feathers. I could not ascertain that these regalia were correlated with a special tribal division or dance.[14]

In the case of the Wind River Shoshoni, the hooked sticks, Lowie learned, were used to catch fleeing enemies:

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[11] R. H. Lowie, Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone. Anthr. Pap. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., 11: 809.

[12] The suggestion is Dr. Spier's.

[13] Lowie, Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone, (Comanche), 811; (Kiowa), 847 f; (Cheyenne) Kit Fox Society, 896. J. R. Murie, Pawnee Indian Societies. Anthr. Pap. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., v. 11 (Pawnee; Two Lance Society, 561; Red Lance Society, 567; Thunderbird Lance, 570; Crow Lance, 571; Brave Raven Society, 574; Fighting Lance, 576; Wolf Lance, 576; Blackhead Lance, 576; Knife Lance, 578). A. L. Kroeber, The Arapaho. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist. Bull., 18: 139, 1904.

[14] Lowie, Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone, 809–811.

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According to one informant the chief (any chief) long ago carried an otter-wrapped hooked stick . . . . with the crook of which he would catch a fleeing enemy and pull him from his horse.[15] 171

Kroeber, describing an Arapaho ceremonial organization of five degrees, also notes the presence of hooked sticks. In the ceremony he states all the participants carry lances; the two dancers of the second degree hooked ones; the dancers of the third degree straight lances.[16] The excellent plate of an Arapaho warrior with a hooked lance shown in Kroeber's *The Arapaho* reveals a detail that may be significant here. It will be noted in that plate that the turned down tip is held in position by a string or cord tied to the perpendicular part of the lance itself.[17] The Spanish copyist of the original Comanche report intended to indicate, possibly, a similar connection by the straight line drawn across the perpendicular of the "f" shaped figure, which gives those figures in the present reproduction their distinctive "f" character. 175

It is significant to note here, also, that the straight lances are indicated with point downward.[18] (See pl. 17.) This was the common method of carrying both straight and hooked lances. These lances were commonly thrust into the ground by the bearer, who must fight beside them no matter what the outcome until his standard was plucked out by one of his fellows and he was thereby released. The "f" shaped figures, placed at intervals in the line are also suggestive inasmuch as it was characteristic of Indian leaders to take position, not in front of their fellows, but within the line, which incidentally was a skirmish line.[19]

The lance was not only a standard carried in battle but was likewise a characteristic sign of office carried by the leaders.[20] The [701] [554] [113]

[15] Lowie, Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist. Anthr. Pap., 20: 283, 1924.

[16] A. L. Kroeber, The Arapaho. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., Bull. 18: 159.

[17] Kroeber, The Arapaho, facing p. 175.

[18] The photographic reproduction here of the figure holding two lances, points downward, is from the original inscribed on a ledge of rocks eleven miles east and six miles north of Kenton, Oklahoma, in what is known as North Canyon. This was in general Comanche territory. The writer is indebted to Mr. W. C. Baker and Mr. C. A. Esmay, photographer, of Boise City, Oklahoma, for the photograph. [128]

[19] Murie, Pawnee Indian Societies, 569, 578.

[20] Lowie, Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone, 847, 896; Murie, Pawnee Indian Societies, 560.

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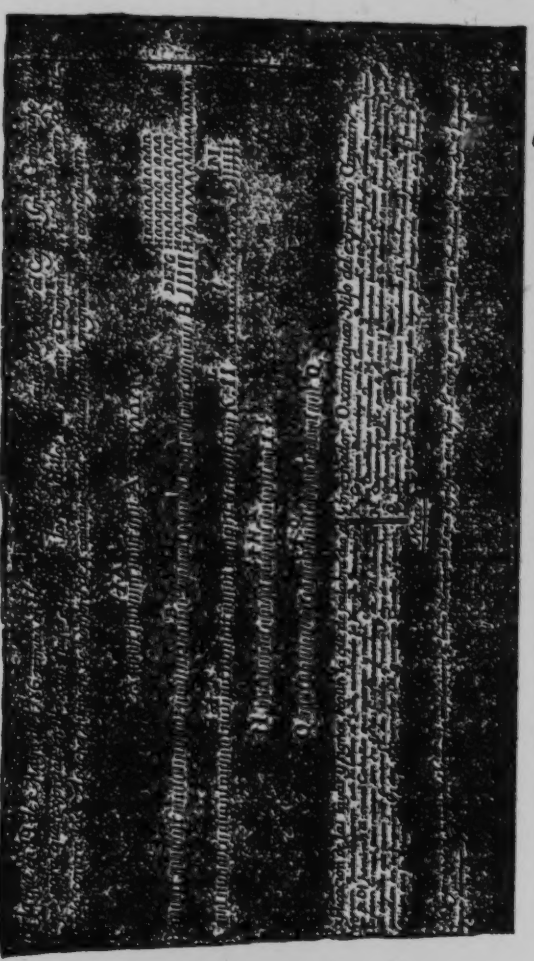

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Tally Sheet of Governor Anza, showing a Comanche military formation in 1786.

[facing p. 294]

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175 701 554 Spaniards' guess in the *Note*, accordingly, that the "f" figures represent individuals who without being chiefs won some distinction, was at least half right.

[171] It is perhaps significant that of the number of leaders' lances shown here there are only two kinds, for it is usual in the Plains societies to have only two ranks or degrees of leaders. Further, the limited number of each kind shown suggest that they are emblems of rank. But as to the question whether leaders of the first rank among the Comanche would carry straight lances, those of the second rank hooked ones, there seems to be no certain answer. It is quite possible that this is the meaning of the straight [171] and hooked lances in their positions here. Both types of lances were in gĕneral use throughout the Plains. But it cannot be determined that the straight lance is consistently that of a first rank leader and the hooked lance that of a second rank leader. However, this is a distinct possibility among the Comanche. 171 Both types occur as first and second rank emblems among the Plains tribes; the order, and in fact their use or non-use, is quite variable.

TARJA[11]

175 212 701 [648] Tally Sheet (*Tarja*) which Governor Don Juan Bautista de Anza sent in blank on the 19th of May, 1786, to the Comanche Captain General Ecueracapa so that there might be indicated on it by means of lines and signs the chiefs who might set out on the campaign, in the expedition under his command, against the Apaches, the number of men which each detachment may be composed, and the successes that might be achieved. (See pl. 18.)

Explanation of the lines and signs, according to what Oxamaguea, son of the above-mentioned captain, gave to the Governor by word of mouth:

A Chief Quetaniaveni, with his lance by his side, commanding the reconnaissance party of thirty-one men;
a five horses he encountered and recaptured
B CaptainGeneral Ecueracapa with his sword[11]

[113] [11] As indicated in footnote 1 above the original of this Tally Sheet is in the Archivo General de Indias, Seville. A copy of this Tally Sheet, the Informe of Ortiz, the Noticia, and the document here entitled Fourth Enclosure, are the four enclosures accompanying the Relacion. See footnotes 3, 4, and 7 above.

[11] The Spanish word given here, *sable*, for sword, technically signifying a weapon in Spanish military orders, appears to indicate the New Mexican Spaniards' recognition of the formal organization of the Comanche in military societies. So far as the writer knows no description of Comanche tribal life written by Spaniards has been

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C and detachment of one hundred and fourteen men
D Apache whom he killed by his own hand
E two wounds which he received
F[33] Two other Apache killed in the battle
G two prisoners
H Forty horses and twenty she-mules which he took from them
K Chief Salambipu with his lance and detachment of eighty-eight men
L Two dead Apache[34]
l twenty riding beasts recaptured[35]
M Six wounded Comanche,[36] one of whom died
N Chief Encajive with his lance and party of fifty men
o A dead Apache
P a wounded Comanche
Q Chief Piaquegipe with his lance commanding sixty-four men, whose party, farthest west, produced no result, as it was seen by the enemy.

NOTE

Neither the report of the Governor nor the explanation which Oxamaguea gave him explained this sign f. It is believed that it indicates the individuals who without being chiefs won some distinction.

NOTICIA

Information (Noticia) concerning the Comanche chiefs present in the Villa of Santa Fé and Pueblo of Pecos in the year of 86 until the 14th of July, to treat for the purpose of adjusting the peace celebrated with Governor Don Juan Bautista de Anza with a statement of the number of tents, which each one has under his command, in which there may be computed about three men of arms and from seven to eight women and children.

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found. It is not impossible, in fact it is quite likely, that such an account exists in Spanish archives. On the use of *sable*, see *Diccionario de la Langua Castellana extracto del Diccionario Enciclopedico* compuesto por E. Zerolo, M. de Toro y Gomez, E. Isaza. The example given by the authors there is: "Usaran de las espadas o *sables* los oficiales. (Orden Mil.)." [113]

[33] The Spanish copyist wrote a sequence of EF for two F's, as may be seen in the copy of this Tally Sheet accompanying the Relacion (see footnote 4 above).

[34] Garrick Mallery, Picture Writing of the American Indians, illustration opposite page 574, shows dead Sioux on their heads, whereas these are shown here heads up in D, F, L, and o. Prisoners, on the other hand, are indicated with heads down in G. [171]

[35] The reproduction here has the familiar horseshoes marks in H, l, by which horses are commonly indicated in Plains pictographic art. Inasmuch as horses and mules are definitely indicated in H, the animals indicated in I, referred to as *cavallerias*, and drawn much smaller, might be donkey pack animals. The word *cavallerias* (eighteenth century Spanish for *caballerias*) means riding beasts, though the word in eighteenth century documents is frequently used to refer to the whole horse herd. [171]

[36] The wounded Comanche are indicated by what appears to be broken lances.

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Names of the chiefs with their meaning in Spanish.[37]			Number of Tents.
First with Equeracapa of the division of Cuchanec,[38] or Cuchantica: Buffalo-eaters.			
Equeracapa:	El huerfano, the orphan, and because most notable in war contatanacapara:[39] Grulla en Cruz, Crane on the Cross, known in New Mexico and Texas by the name Cota de Malla, Coat of Mail, the most trusted and universally esteemed chief of the nation, which named him their attorney general for the adjustment of peace in the council of chiefs held for this purpose with the greatest solemnity in their own country, and newly instituted as chief of all of it		100
Tosacondata:	Grulla Blanca	White Crane	10
Tosapoy:	Camino Blanco	White Road	80
Hichapat:	Ardiloso	The Crafty One	10
Paraginanchi:	Orejas de Venado Alasan	Ears of a Sorrel Deer	30
Cuetaninabeni:	El Maltratado	The Maltreated One	20
Quinaneantime:	El Roe a su Amo	He gnaws his Master	11
Sonacat:	Muchos Pimientos	Many Peppers	20
Canaguaipe:	Amugerado flaco	The Feeble Effeminate One	40
Pisimanpat:	Zapato podrido	The Decayed Shoe	10
Toyamancare:	Sentado en la Sierra	Seated on the Mountain Range	15
Tichinalla:	Juega Feo	Ugly Game	20
Second			
Queremilla:	El Chamá de la parcialidad Yupe:	Exchange [40]of the group Yupe	50
	El que hace prodigios, Sacerdote, o Ministro entre ellos:	He who makes miracles, Priest, or Minister among them	6
Third led by Tosacondata			
Huanecoruco:	Zorra de Paño, Cuchanec:	Fox of Cloth, Buffalo Eater	10

[114]

[37] The writer is indebted to Professor Stephan Scatori, Professor of Romance Languages, in the University of Oklahoma, for assistance in the interpretation of the Spanish equivalents of the Comanche names in this Noticia.

[38] Buffalo Eaters is the meaning given to the word Cuchanec or Cuchantica by the Spaniards (Relacion, paragraph 2).

[39] In another place Anza says that this word means: *El sin igual en hazanas militares*: the one without equal in military achievements (Relacion, paragraph 5). The chief's name, Equeracapa, in Spanish means Leather Cape. That hide armor is indicated by this name is apparent here from Cota de Malla, Coat of Mail, the title given him by the Spaniards of New Mexico and Texas.

[40] El Chama may also be translated The Boy. The text here states that this man was entrusted with a letter for the Governor of Texas.

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Tosaporua:	Oso blanco, de la Rama Yamparica:[31]	White Bear, of the Yamparica branch	8
Passahuoques:	Ladra Ronco, Idm:	Hoarse Bark, Idm.	20
	Fourth led by Tosapoy		
Ysaquebera:	Lobo Largo, Yupe:	Long Wolf, Yupe[32]	80
Tuchubarua:	Hozo Paxarito, Idm:	Bear Bird, Idm.	9
Encantime:	Savandija, Idm:	Beetle, Idm.	11
	Fifth led by Paraginachi		
Pagabipo:	Vasija de Panza, Yamparica:	Basin Pauch, Yamparica	15
Cunabunit:	El que vió Fuego, Ydm:	He who saw Fire, Idm.	10
Quahuahacante:	Cuero matado:	Dead Hide	8
		Total	593

NOTE

The number of individuals whom they have at their command exceeds at least by a third part that computed by this statement.[33]

. . . . . [34]

It is a certified copy. Janos 13 of March 1788 in accordance with the order of the Senor Commandante General.

Juan Gasiot y Miralles (Rubric)

FOURTH ENCLOSURE[35]

Names of twenty-two other Comanche despatched by Equeracapa to Governor Don Juan Bautista de Anza in place of eight whom he asked for

[31] Yamparica, Anza stated, comes from the word Yampa, a species of sweet root which abounds in the country of these Indians (Relacion, paragraph 2).

[32] The word Yupe is also written by the Spaniards, Yupinis and Gente de Palo. The latter may be translated as Stick People or Timber People. In this connection it is interesting to note that the Council, mentioned in this Noticia, which selected Equeracapa as chief of all the Comanche, met on the Arkansas river in a spot called La Casa de Palo or the House of Timber or Stick (Relacion, paragraph 2).

[33] It will be observed that this note is apparently a restatement of the last phrase of the opening paragraph of this Noticia that each tent has about three men of arms. The total number of warriors would accordingly be between seventeen hundred and eighteen hundred.

[34] A list of five chiefs' names, all appearing on the Tally Sheet is omitted here since the Spanish equivalents are not given. Of these five names, three, Salambipu, Encajive, and Piaquegipe, do not appear in the lists of the Noticia or the Fourth Enclosure so that their meanings are unknown.

[35] This list of twenty-two names is a fourth enclosure accompanying the Relacion. The other three enclosures as already noted are a copy of the Tally Sheet, the Noticia, and the Ynforme of Ortiz. (See footnotes 4, 7, and 21 above.)

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to accompany the detachment of the campaign of the month of July for the purpose of informing themselves of the lands and situation of the enemies in the sierras of the Rio Grande del Norte in order to be able to guide the parties of their nation, which in effect, they did. They conducted themselves with the greatest valor and fidelity in two encounters which they had, having succeeded in the first in taking fourteen prisoners, and in the second, killing three men from a large rancheria of Apache which they attacked themselves alone, because they were ahead of the detachment and came upon a trail along which they went and arrived at it (the rancheria) before the troops.

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Capitan Oxamaquea:	Manos Amarillas, hixo mayor del expresado Gral: Yellow Hands, eldest son of the above mentioned Chief.	
Tomanaguene:	Alzo las manos, hijo Segundo: He raises his hands; second son	
Tahuichimpia:	El Suegro, hijo tercero: Father-in-law, third son: This one was with the Governor, sent previously by his father.	
Tosaporua:	Oso blanco:	White Bear
Camquencavite:	Casa Colorada:	Red House
Quemanacare:	El que esta lejos:	He who was far away
Quetampunigue:	El que no han Visto tirado:	He whom they have not seen shot
Nomasonasallo:	El que hizo su saco:	He who made his sack.
Huillome:	El Alezna:	The Awl
Ancachouate:	Hasta sinpunta:	Even without purpose
Tampiallanenque:	Risa grande:	Great Laugh
Sucaque:	Que cosa ès:	What is it
Tanansimu:	El Sarsillo:	Small Rake
Amabate:	El sin Caveza:	The One without a head
Tanticanque:	El que come	He who eats
Ybienca:	Muger Colorado	Red Woman
Ecopisura:	Cuchara Arrastrada	Scraping Spoon
Parnaquibitiste:	Oso muy pequeño:	Very small bear
Taoinan:	El Flauta	The Flute
Humavaenvite:	El Gavilan Roxo	The Red Sparrow-Hawk
Tamavencaniguay:	El preguntado por el Anillo:	The One questioned because of the Ring.[26]
Cageneiqueuate:	El Sin Faja	The One without a Sash.[27]

175 It is a copy which I certify. Janos 13 of March, 1788. By virtue of an order of the Senor Commandante General.

Juan Gasiot y Miralles (Rubric)

UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA,
NORMAN, OKLAHOMA

[26] The Spanish here admits of another translation: "The one asked for the Ring" might be equally correct. This statement applies to several other of the above names so that the correct meaning must necessarily await comparison with the Comanche language itself.

[27] Another word may be added to this list: Encatabebo: Vermejo: The Bright Red One. This name was that of the Comanche chief who returned with Ortiz. (See footnote 7 above.)

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 N06 Comanche N06

622 in commenting on the band headmen, or peace chiefs, remarked, "I hardly
[642] known how to tell about them; they never had much to do except to hold the band together." The headman was a magnet at the core of the band, but his influence was so subtle that it almost defies explicit description. He worked through precept, advice, and good humor, expressing his wisdom through well-chosen words and persuasive common sense. He was not elected to office or even chosen. "He just got that way." His role and status were only slightly more institutionalized than were those of the Eskimo headman. In the making of any important decisions of group policy all men were free to have their say. Yet among them all, the wiser old head, whose time-tested judgment the people respected, was the leader. In matters of daily routine, such as camp moving, he merely made the decisions himself, announcing them through a camp crier. Anyone who did not like his decision simply ignored it. If in time a good many people ignored his announcements and preferred to stay behind with some other man of influence, or perhaps to move in another direction with that man, the chief had then lost his following. He was no longer chief, and another had quietly superseded him.

624 War chiefs were outstanding fighters whose accumulated records of
555 honored deeds were tangible evidence of their prestige status. Any Comanche
701 was free to initiate a raid or organize a war party—if he could muster a band of followers. The Comanches were chronically at war with the Ute,
721 Pawnee, Apache, Osage, Tonkaway, and sundry other tribes. In later days, the whites of Texas and the Mexicans on both sides of the Rio Grande were fair game. War, for the Comanches, was certainly a national pastime, if not the conscious practice of a national political policy. We suspect it was both. But so far as it was a national policy, it was not explicitly directed
[555] by a governing military or political body. It was a matter of individual motivation, prepared by training since infancy and spurred by a social system that gave rich psychological rewards to the men who were bravest in the face of the enemy or most successful in running off the horses of hostile tribes or the horses and cattle of Texas ranchers.

701 On the raid the leader of the war party—the man who had organized it—had temporary dictatorial powers such as a peace chief never enjoyed.
624 He determined the objectives of the raid; he appointed scouts, cooks and water carriers; he set the camping places and the route of march; he divided the booty, if booty there was. In all his directives he was implicitly obeyed. If anyone seriously objected, he was free to leave the party and go his own way. Success on the raid demanded tough leadership, and the followers of a war chief submitted to it. Yet so strong was the Comanche sense of individual freedom that at any point a man could pick up his arrows and go home.

624 In view of their basic values of individual supremacy and the related

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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a wife, the other three having died from overwork. Neither would he tolerate a slave woman to help his wife.

According to Comanche custom, if you buy a wife and if for any reason she is unsatisfactory, if she runs away, or if she dies, you may go to the wife's father and demand the purchase price back, or another wife if there is still an unmarried daughter.

Concerning Mo-cho-rook's cruelty, it was said that he never took a prisoner. He killed all, as he came to them: warriors, women, old men, children, babies; and he took no prisoners. My memory is too faulty to give the number of scalps he was supposed to still have. One thing seemed pretty authentic. He was supposed to have a full-length lariat (approximately thirty-three feet) that he had plaited from women's hair—Mexican, Indian, and white.

I was never able to learn whether plaiting was an American Indian–developed art, or if it was learned from the Spanish. Many of the old fellows plaited excellent round rawhide ropes, and also many of them were quite proud of their horsehair lariats. Mo-cho-rook was the one and only man who was supposed to have one plaited from women's hair.

His death on October 4, 1915, at the age of eighty-nine, was slightly on the prosaic side. At least he died in bed. But he saw fit to lend a dramatic touch. He had sustained a broken hip while working with his horses. They brought a doctor out from Lawton, when he refused to go to the Indian hospital. The doctor put him in a cast, but when the doctor came back in a few days, he found that the old chap had made his wife cut the cast off. She had brought him dogwood switches from the creek, and he had plaited himself a wicker cast to hold his leg and hip. He lived only a short time.

As to his age, here is all we have to go by. The Comanche roll was made up soon after the surrender in 1875. At that time he was arbitrarily given the birth year of 1826. That means that they judged him to be fifty years old. It is extremely unlikely that even then any of the warriors who were on the raid when he was kidnapped from Mexico were alive. A little arithmetic will show that they would have been at least seventy years old. That is just older than Indians became at that time, under the conditions they lived in.

Another bit of arithmetic brings some interesting conclusions. Supposing that Mo-Cho-rook's birth year is approximately correct, that means he would have been an active warrior by the year 1844. That

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was seventeen years before the outbreak of the Civil War, and predates the Mexican War, the last months of the Republic of Texas, and the admission of Texas into the Union.

We know when the end of Comanche independence came—June, 1875. That means Mo-cho-rook was an active Comanche warrior for a period of thirty-two years. That was thirty-two years for raids along the Trinity and the Brazos. Thirty-two years of traversing Texas on expeditions into Old Mexico. Thirty-two years to drive off the Charley Goodnight cattle, and sell them to the Spanish in New Mexico.

Then don't forget that fairly authentic story that the Comanches, during the Civil War, delivered over ten thousand head of Texas cattle to the Union contractors who were furnishing beef for the Union troops.

I think I was a bit apprehensive, as I read John Graves's *Goodbye to a River*, that Graves might meet up with Mo-cho-rook's shade and his canoe trip down the Brazos might end in disaster.

NOTE: The records at Anadarko show Mo-cho-rook as Comanche Allottee Number C-2307, his birth year as 1826, and show him to have been a Mexican captive. His allotment was about one mile west and four or five north of the present town of Faxon, Oklahoma. It passed into white hands on his death. Casual inquiry brings no information on either his wife or his child. Both did survive him.

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157 Ca-vo-yo, who was one of the first of the old chaps to become an individual to me, was such a friendly, kindly old fellow that it was hard for me to picture him riding into battle, screaming his war cry. But by the agency's record he must have been a successful and respected warrior for approximately twenty years. Had he not been a [553] [555] successful warrior, none would have sought him out to name their man-child and give of his medicine.

778 [11] I have tried a number of times to write Ca-vo-yo's story as a giver of names, but the trouble always is that scarcely have you begun to write about the giving of a name, when you run into *Pa-haw-cut*, the Comanche name for medicine. And it is hard to tell a white audience about Comanche medicine, because the white man has nothing through which he can identify with the Comanche's feeling about it. I thought at one time of creating a straw man by combining an individual who by faith had a guardian angel with one who believed his destiny was directed by the stars and their positions, and then to this composite individual adding one who believed in luck—one who would not leave his home for the office of a morning without his good luck charm. Then I decided that the faith of even such an individual would still fall far short of a Comanche's faith in his medicine.

[555] When a Comanche warrior was bragging, to an audience gathered around a campfire, of some mighty coup he had brought about, he was not bragging of a personal exploit—he was telling about the 701 strength of his medicine. From the earliest war games he played as a boy, throughout his active adult life, he was constantly training himself to be ever a better warrior. It was his way of life. Also, he sought to perfect himself in the making of arms, both for war and for the hunt. Each warrior furnished his own arms. We have a written history, more or less, for the last 175 years of Comanche warfare, which shows that the Comanche possessed neither an armory nor a commissary.

492 411 224 Just as he had one set of arrows for war and another set of arrows he used in the killing of the buffalo, so the Comanche had horses trained for war and horses trained to carry him alongside the buffalo, 778 so he could loose an arrow into the rib cage of his huge quarry. But 726 it was his individual *Pa-haw-cut*, or medicine, that allowed him to 492 count coup early and often in the battle—that caused his horse to carry him at full speed into battle and to carry him away in a stra- 778 tegic retreat. The same medicine allowed his horse to place him beside
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the stampeding buffalo without stepping into a grass-covered badger or prairie-dog hole. 778 492 224

It was his medicine that enabled him to crawl into a cavalry bivouac and sever the eight-foot rope that each soldier had tied to his wrist, so his horse might graze safely during the night, and without waking the sleeper or his comrades lead the horse away. 778 726

It was his medicine that caused his wives to be friendly and congenial, one with the other. It resulted in the wives' caring for his camp, looking after his surplus horses, and bearing mostly boy babies. For none of these things did he take credit personally. But he was justly proud of his medicine that had brought all these things about, and he guarded it like a jealous lover. 778 [595] [842]

To sum up the attributes of a name-giver: he needed a keen ear and an extensive knowledge of the vocabulary—perhaps a sense of humor helped—and he must have a successful reputation as a warrior-hunter and a willingness to share his medicine. Custom required him to give each individual named a supply of his medicine. Warriors often refused to give a name because it meant parting with a portion of their medicine. They feared the remainder might prove inadequate. Apparently the true name-giver's supply had a similarity to the oil in the cruse and the meal in the barrel of the widow at Zarepath, while she fed the fugitive Elijah. It was replenished as used. 553 778 701 [555]

My reading indicates that the Comanche placed more emphasis or dependence on the name than did any of the other Plains tribes. A warrior might carry a number of names, should he live a long and successful life. In the event a boy developed into a sickly youngster, or was accident-prone, his parents were apt to seek out one reputed to have even stronger medicine than the one who gave him the first name and ask for another name. Directly after puberty when a youth went alone to fast and pray for a vision, should his vision have particular significance, he would be given a name in keeping with the vision. But no Comanche dared name himself. [171] [551] [881] [787]

After his acceptance as a warrior, should he develop outstanding characteristics in methods, strategy, or bravery, he might be given yet another name, descriptive of his accomplishments. For example, there was the Mexican captive Mo-cho-rook, about whom I tell in another chapter. Raised and trained as a Comanche warrior, he was given this name because "he so cruel, he makes Comanche blood run cold." He became a legend while yet he lived. 553 701 551

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726 Indian scouts. The scouts were recruited and commanded by Captain
[657 Richard H. Pratt (the same Captain Pratt who, a few years later,
87] was to organize the Indian school at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and who remained its superintendent for eighteen years, trying to turn Indian youths into imitation white men).

Colonel G. P. Buell advanced from Fort Griffin. Colonel R. S. MacKenzie marched from Fort Concho. Colonel Nelson A. Miles took the field from Fort Supply. Major William Price came eastward from Fort Bascum in New Mexico. Captain Pratt and his scouts, using pack animals to carry supplies, operated at times as a sixth unit.

General Sheridan's idea was to keep the Indians on the move so continuously that their grass-fed horses wouldn't have time to graze, nor would the Indians be able to replenish their commissary from
[136 game. (In 1874 there were buffalo on the high plains, but the white hide-hunters were rapidly bringing about their extinction.) A tracing of the movements of the different Army columns as they pursued the Indians, taken from their reports, shows their trails crossing and recrossing one another, sometimes doubling back, much like lizard tracks in the sand.

There were a number of incidents in which the Army captured numbers of women and children. I have never been able to determine to my own satisfaction which group Wer-que-yah and Peet-so were in. About the only difference it would make would be in the distance they had to walk to reach Fort Sill.

Some Army reports set out the problems incurred when such captures were made. The column had to be regrouped and a force sent back with the captives, sufficient to make sure that they would not escape or be rescued by the Indians. Medical personnel and medical supplies must be part of the returning column. Food must be taken along for both soldiers and prisoners. Wagons must be detached from the main force to haul the food, forage and grain for horses and mules, and such of the prisoners as were unable to walk. This included the wounded, aged, women with newborn babies, and children too young to walk. Wer-que-yah assured us that Peet-so walked the whole distance. There were no roads, no ferries or bridges. Streams must be waded, regardless of the weather or time of year. One thing that should be noted: the Army reports mention wounded women
[562 in some instances. Many of them fought with their men in the
701] battles.